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THE TIMES

Tories would allow new closed shops 'if massive vote in favour'

Prior told the Conservative Party conference at Blackpool yesterday that, though he did not favour the closed shop in principle, reality meant that it could be unwise to ban the practice outright. Before a future Tory government would consider a union's

application for a closed shop, however, "we will expect a ballot of all employees affected. Only if a massive majority vote in favour will negotiations proceed". Sir Keith Joseph [conference report, page 6] said that greater productivity was imperative for Britain's economic success. To that end it was essential to

stop overmanning in industry by "the intelligent use of voluntary departure by resignation and retirement". Mr St John-Stevens said the Conservatives wanted to improve, not destroy, the comprehensive school system, but such schools would no longer be imposed arbitrarily on local authorities.

Mr Prior confident about relations with the unions

David Wood

Editor

sick

The reconciliation of Conservative policies of individual liberty and the aggrandisement of trade union power was considerably complicated yesterday by the opening of the Conservative Party conference at Blackpool, although a few questions left to be resolved pragmatically under a Tory government.

Mr Prior, the spokesman on employment, easily won the day on a show of hands without any of the elaborate tactics or facilities that had been devised when hundreds of delegates turned up wearing T-shirts saying "No closed shop".

Mr Prior was not for the closed shop in principle. In his speech he has made at a party conference, he addressed himself frontally to the question "that goes right to the heart of what is generally regarded as our major political problem: how, after the miners' strike of 1974, would we get on with the unions?"

Mr Heath, the party leader dismissed after the defeat in February 1974, surprised delegates by coming on to the front of the platform to hear his former parliamentary private secretary give the answer.

Mr Heath will not even privately discuss with his closest friends the precise circumstances in which he would be prepared to join a government formed by Mrs Thatcher or a shadow cabinet in the run-up to the next general election. But the way and another he seems be responding to the overtures that Mrs Thatcher and the managers of the Conservative party are making to him.

He got a warm welcome as he marched up the steps on to the platform from the rank and file in the hall. In turn, he was welcomed, what Mr Prior said on Conservative relations with the trade unions - and in the kind of extra-

ordinary demonstration that is down as a standing ovation. That is not all. Tonight, in the conference hall, Mr Heath is expected to have four thousand delegates and their friends hear the Conservative Political Centre lecture or address he is to deliver on international affairs and the United Kingdom economy. It really begins to



Conference photograph by Harry Keen

Mrs Thatcher and Lord Carrington singing "Let there be light" at the opening of the Conservative Party Conference

look as though he is on the way back.

Mr Prior's thesis was simple enough. At the end of a difficult debate in which one反對派 speaker after another had aggressively complained about trade union power he said that in the Conservative Party we are against the closed shop, full stop". He added: "I am not just speaking for myself. It is Margaret's policy. It is Keith's. It is Willie's. It is the Shadow Cabinet's policy. It is our policy."

Delegates cheered that and then waited to hear what it was.

The Conservative Party

opposed the closed shop in principle because it believed in freedom of choice and individual freedom, and because the closed shop would rob men and women of their livelihood.

Nevertheless realities had to be faced. Any attempt to ban the closed shop would mean closed shops under the counter, where there would be abuses infinitely more difficult to cope with.

As Churchill had said, jaw-jaw was better than war-war, and therefore there had been talks with management and trade unions. The real divide was not between sections of the

Conservative Party but between Conservative Party and government.

Mr Prior put bluntly the question that has often been on every pundit's lips: How would the next Conservative government get on with the unions?

Would there be a smash-up? Would democracy die?

"I am fed up to the back teeth with that argument", Mr Prior said. "It is a load of rubbish. We will talk with and listen to all the great interest groups that make up our society, not just the TUC and the CBI. Then it will be our job in government to take the lead anew in what we believe

to be in the national interest - that is leadership and government."

Extremists would keep up the trouble. They always did. One or two trade union leaders, including Mr Clive Jenkins, might make a fuss from time to time.

The TUC would not like everything a Conservative government would do. But in the end the trouble would be in reduced unemployment.

At the end of the day", Mr Prior said, "the trade unions will be with a Conservative government, or any other democratically elected government, and any suggestion that they will not is gross calumny on virtually all their members and most of their leaders, too."

The real question was what the trade unions saw as their role in society. They had to understand that the people of Britain believed in the rule of law and would not put up with the appalling violence seen outside the gates of the Grunwick factory.

If the unions would not tackle that master theme, then any democratic government believing in a free society could not ignore its duty of care.

Earlier in the day, Sir Keith Joseph, the Conservatives' principal policy-maker, who has presented himself or been presented rarely as Mr Prior's

opponent inside the Shadow Cabinet, made a speech on industry and the economy over the broadest front and carefully avoided any issue that would bring him into collision with the spokesman on employment.

Conference reports, pages 6 & 7

Diary, page 14

Leading article, page 14

The trial continues today.

Councils advised to keep grammar schools

Hugh Noyes

Parliamentary Correspondent

Mr Norman St John-Stevens, Conservative spokesman on education and the arts, was given a standing ovation yesterday at the end of a debate on the first day of his party's conference at Blackpool, in which he made clear that there would be no attempt by a future Conservative Administration to turn back the clock on the wholesale restoration of grammar schools at the expense of comprehensive education.

But his message to the local education authorities that will possess grammar schools, a third of the authorities, was: "Hang on to them - help is coming."

He resisted pressure from many speakers for a future

Direct-grant schools would be brought back in a new form so that parents of modest means would have increased opportunities to send their children to them. That would be done by statute so that never again would it be possible to do away with such schools by ministerial edict or circular.

Conservative policy, Mr St John-Stevens added, was aimed not at bringing back the 11-plus but at a continuing system of selection at different ages.

But the main part of Conservative effort would be devoted to improving the performance of comprehensive schools, some of which were doing excellent work.

Next month the party would be publishing a two-year survey of comprehensives and that would show that Tories

were not against the idea of comprehensives but were against their compulsory imposition.

He offered a six-point charter for comprehensives: smaller schools, a place for the sixth-form college as well as the traditional sixth form, no mixed-ability teaching except in special cases, comprehensives to develop their own teaching specialities, special help for teachers in comprehensives to avoid the "horrors of William Tyndale", and the reintroduction of national standards of literacy and numeracy.

Conservative policy, he said, would place the emphasis on encouraging a variety of schools, both selective and comprehensive, so as to preserve what was good and improve what was bad.

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Conference reports, pages 6 & 7

Diary, page 14

Leading article, page 14

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Concorde to face veto in New York

Our Own Correspondent

New York, Oct 11

Mr Hugh Carey, Governor of New York State, said last night that he would veto any proposal by the New York and New Jersey Port Authority to let Concorde use Kennedy airport for a trial period.

A plan to grant the Anglo-French supersonic airliner a three-month trial is one of three options to be considered by the Authority at public hearings next week. The other two options would bar Concorde from the port authority's airports.

The Governors of New York and New Jersey can overrule the port authority's decisions, although they could not overrule a decision of the Supreme Court, to which British Airways and Air France are appealing. Richmond, Virginia, have invited Concorde to visit the city's air show on Saturday. The air show marks the fiftieth anniversary of Lindbergh's first transatlantic flight.

Sanction threat to heating and pottery groups

John St John-Stevens

Conservative spokesman

The Government has warned the heating and ventilation industry and the Wedgwood pottery company that they risk having sanctions applied against them if they exceed the 10 per cent pay rise limit. Wedgwood has withdrawn a loan offer to its staff, and the heating industry's management and unions are to discuss an agreed 20 per cent rise with the Government.

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Chancellor sells

Mr Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer, has sold his five-bedroom Windlesham Lodge, at Withyham, East Sussex, for more than £40,000. He bought the house and two acres for £15,000 in 1969.

Official figures show that although the Government moved substantially into debt last month it is still well below the borrowing forecasts made for the Budget, pointing to room for £1,000m tax cuts this autumn without breaking the International Monetary Fund guidelines.

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Letters: On police pay, from Mr James Jardine; on welfare benefits in Ulster, from Professor Thomas Wilson; and on direct-grant schools, from Mr Norman St John-Stevens

Features, pages 5 and 14

Bernard Levin adds up the cost to us all of free speech; Personal column by John Stevenson; Philip Hall's column in the archives of the National Maritime Museum

Arts, page 13

Herbert von Karajan interviewed by John Higgins; Paul Moon on *As You Like It* in Berlin; Irving Wardle on *The Good Woman of Setzuan* (Royal Court Theatre); Maxine Peake on *The White Man's Mission* (Round House, Hackney); Obituary, page 15

Professor Margaret Deane; Judge Abu Renuar

Sport, pages 10-12

Football: World Cup previews for home and away; British racing; Indian polo cars in Britain; Rio, Uruguay; Peter West sees United States Eagles gain second win of tour

Business News, pages 17-23

Stock market: Gilt recovery, strongly

and equities made a moderate rally to lift the FT index 2.2 per cent to 1,124.50

Financial Times: A question session on

Ariel's future role; Biscuit manufacturers

Unilever piles on the pressure; Swan Hunter

unresolved questions

Business features, Peter Hill in Rome

reports on the annual conference of the International Iron and Steel Institute

Malcolm Brown on the first moves towards

establishing industry in space

Business Diary: The Russians are interested in the City of London's insurance

space for spacecraft

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Luxembourg: Unrepentant defence by Mr Silkin of Britain's attitude to European Community's future

China: An eight-page Special Report on the political and economic changes that have followed the death of Chairman Mao Tse-tung

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Letters: On police pay, from Mr James Jardine; on welfare benefits in Ulster, from Professor Thomas Wilson; and on direct-grant schools, from Mr Norman St John-Stevens

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Rosy glow over British links with Russia as Dr Owen's visit ends

From David Spender

Moscow, Oct 11

The possibility of President Brezhnev coming to Britain is now on the cards as a result of the highly successful visit to Moscow by Dr David Owen, the Foreign Secretary. The need for the interpreter, Mr Gromyko was particularly interested to hear British impressions of the main political figures in Rhodesia.

Before returning to London tonight, Dr Owen expressed his satisfaction at the result of the meeting, which, he said, he had greatly enjoyed. On Rhodesia, he pointed out that it was the first time he had had the opportunity to explain the implications of British policy and explain why we wanted to involve the United Nations.

The Russians are cautious about the use of the United Nations" he said. "There is no doubt about that. We will have to convince them that the overall package about the negotiations will safeguard their primary concern, which is that there should be no delay in the rapid transition to majority rule."

He added that whatever solution was negotiated must be acceptable to the Africans most closely involved. The communiqué issued after the talks states that the two sides discussed the problems of Rhodesia and agreed on the principles of the earlier establishment of an independent state in Zimbabwe.

Their view was that boundaries in Africa are often fairly arbitrary. If every claim was to be pursued without thought of the political implications for security, the result would be chaos.

This is not to suggest that the Soviet Union has in any way abandoned its fundamental position that it supports the cause of the Africans seeking their freedom or their right to fight for it. But it does show that both countries, for example in their discussion of the United Nations' role, are anxious to use diplomacy where possible.

The conversations were very smoothly thanks to Mr Gromyko's good command of English. Instead of set speeches it was more like a question and answer session, often without

the need for the interpreter.

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To celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of Vermont, Castleton State College is organizing a symposium this weekend to examine evidence of early civilization in the state. It sounds an innocent enough undertaking, but in fact the symposium will become the temporary battleground of a long and savage academic controversy.

It contains at least two of the attributes that characterize the best of such disputes: it is being conducted in a notably ill-mannered fashion, and it probably admits of no definitive resolution.

The chief antagonist for one of the sides - it is uncertain whether he ought to be styled the prosecution or the defence - is Mr Barry Fell, a professor emeritus at Harvard. He is not an archaeologist, which is part of the reason why his work is regarded suspiciously by those

stem of proved reliable technology must be available in the 1980s if that quantity is acceptable. The question is whether the choice of reactor station and a nuclear power plant had been made with due care and attention to safety. Lord Avebury, president of the Nuclear Energy Society, said: "The future of nuclear energy is an imminent danger. The Lord Conservation Society has recommended that a moratorium be imposed on the construction of new nuclear power stations until a comprehensive review of the safety of existing ones has been completed. The Society has made its case as valid as possible, acknowledging the acknowledged creation of finite reserves of oil and gas, but of that in particular, that in a finite period of time, there would be a manifest need to move on to other sources of energy. That implies that there would be a steady increase in the price of liquid and gaseous hydrocarbons. The price of energy would continue to grow exponentially, thereby creating a 30-year gap between the time when the attention of the public and the attention of the energy industry to planning for energy futures were condoned. Lord Avebury, in response, of technical and industrial planning, Sherriff, up planning, Shell International Petroleum, argued that exponential growth would continue. But he also argued that those opposing the development of nuclear energy were seeking to "kill the option" on all forms of energy supply. He argued that all forms of energy should be under development.

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United Kingdom where it engineering projects started with crucial a resolved. "It is known for pressure is on designers and engineers a chance or make the less," he added.

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daughter who
efied him

apinder Singh Gill, aged 26, a devout Sikh, assumed the name of Bala and demanded his daughter because he disapproved of Mr Jagat Singh, 21, whom she had married. Mr Gill, of Curzon Street, Southampton, was jailed for life for murdering his daughter, Baljit, aged 17.

The prosecution had said she had run away with her friend because she rejected the idea of an arranged marriage and defied her parents by choosing her friend.

Mr Gill admitted the killing but claimed his wife was suffering at the time from a progressive illness which relieved him of responsibility.

Mr Gill's wife, Amrit Kaur, and son, Baljit, aged 18, denied guilt in assisting the removal and disappearance of the body.

ON TODAY

“It’s hardly a licence to print money.”

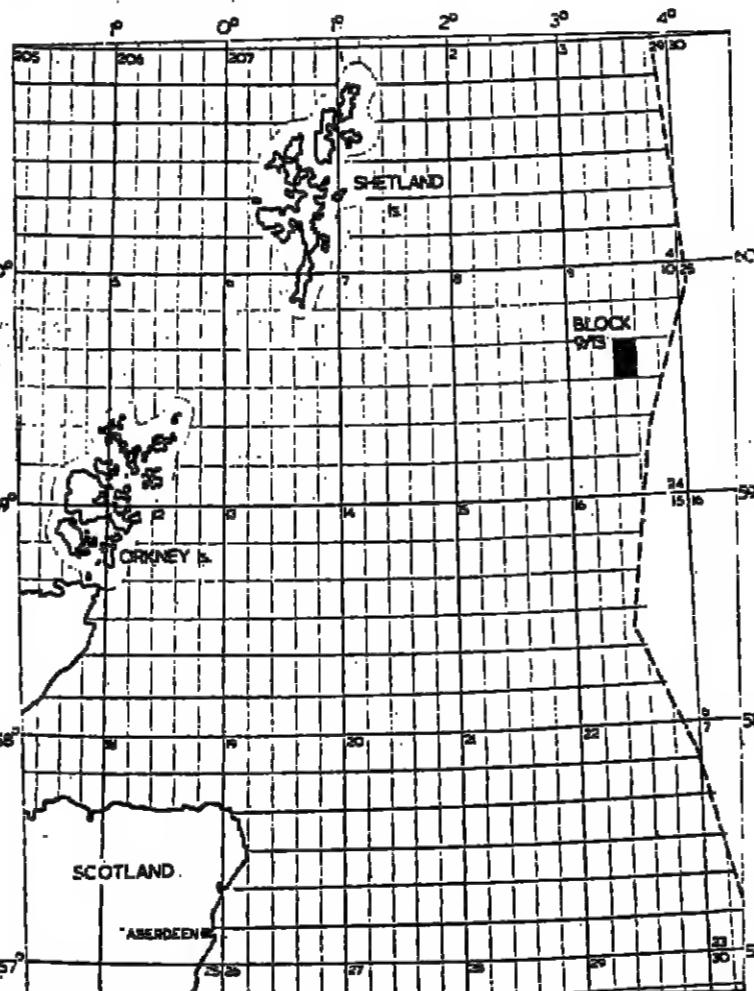
For any British youngster, North Sea oil is a fact of daily life that seems always to have been with us — like television, perhaps, or fish fingers.

Not quite so. The whole vast spread of North Sea oil activity came to life less than 20 years ago—in 1959, on the coast of Holland at Groningen, when one of the largest natural gas fields in the world was discovered. Since oil and gas frequently occur in the same area, and since the geologic basin in which the Groningen discovery was made extends under the North Sea, the Groningen find raised hopes for oil and gas production in the North Sea.

The study of possible oil-bearing rock formations beneath the sea bed off Britain's coast began in 1962. Two years later, the Continental Shelf Act was passed by Parliament; in September, 1964, the government issued the first licences "to search and bore for, and get, petroleum".

There have been five licensing rounds so far, the most recent in the early part of this year. By September, 1977, a total of 246 licences had been awarded, most of them in the North Sea and the balance in the Irish Sea, in Cardigan Bay and the Celtic Sea, and in the Atlantic west of Shetland and the Orkney Islands.

For licensing purposes, the Continental Shelf has been divided into a draughtsboard of 'blocks', each 75 to 100 square miles in area. The licensing process begins when the Department of Energy offers exploration and producing rights in certain of these blocks. After studying survey results on the likelihood of finding oil in the blocks, companies submit



Description of Licensed Areas

The sea area bounded by lines joining the following
co-ordinates on European Datum:

(1) $59^{\circ} 40' 00''\text{N}$: $1^{\circ} 24' 00''\text{E}$ (2) $59^{\circ} 40' 00''\text{N}$: $1^{\circ} 36' 00''\text{E}$
 (3) $59^{\circ} 30' 00''\text{N}$: $1^{\circ} 36' 00''\text{E}$ (4) $59^{\circ} 30' 00''\text{N}$: $1^{\circ} 24' 00''\text{E}$

The Common Seal of Mobil Producing North Sea Limited was hereunto affixed in the presence of

 Director



Mobil

HOME NEWS



Elderly lose because of secrecy on grants

By Pat Healy
Social Services Correspondent

Thousands of pensioners have lost grants to help them to insulate their homes because the conditions for which they can claim have been kept secret. That was stated yesterday by the newly-formed Energy Advice Service, which it published in criteria in its first publication, a consumer's guide to energy use.

The guide shows that pensioners can get grants of between 50 and 90 per cent of the cost of insulating their lofts, which can reduce heat loss by 15 per cent, provided they are entitled to rate rebates. But such grants, available under the home improvement grant system, have been paid to only 10 pensioners between 1974 and March, 1977.

"We know that a million pensioners get heating additions because they cannot afford to meet their heating bills," Mr David Green, coordinator of Energy Advice Service, said yesterday. "Most of them would be entitled to grants to help them with loft insulation because they would clearly be entitled to rate rebates. They have not had them because nobody bothered to tell them they could claim."

Mr Green said the criteria had been discovered accidentally after months of pressure by his organization, which was concerned that engineers

untrained in welfare were having to decide whether pensioners were entitled to grants or not. But the situation had improved since March, when authority to give the grants was delegated from the Department of Environment to local councils. A new leaflet giving the conditions is to be published soon by an interdepartmental working party.

The Energy Advice Service's guide shows that elderly and disabled council tenants can have their lofts insulated under the 1974 Housing Act. Some councils, the guide says, will also help any disabled resident under the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act, although they must first decide whether there is a real need.

The guide gives information on the comparative costs of heating rooms with different fuels, and on what advice and assistance is available to help people to pay their bills. It is the first step in the service's programme to persuade the Government that local heating and insulation advice points should be established.

The Energy Advice Service, based in Durham, hopes to demonstrate that such projects can help consumers to use energy more wisely by making independent information on fuel use available.

Energy Guide (Energy Advice Service, 84 Claypath, Durham, DH1 1RG, 65p, or £1.50 with bi-monthly updating).

Working in the nationalized industries 3: The board room

By Ian Bradley

It is at board-room level that dissatisfaction among those working for nationalized industries is undoubtedly greatest. The well publicized departures from their jobs last year of Sir Monty Finniston, former chairman of the British Steel Corporation, and Sir Richard Marsh, former chairman of British Rail, and the recent "revolt" by the directors of Cable and Wireless underline the frustration at the top of public corporations.

At the top of the list of grievances is pay. Leaders of nationalized industry are furious because they have suffered a wage freeze for nearly four years while the pay of other public servants and of their counterparts in private industry has risen considerably. They are particularly bitter at the way the recommendations of the Boyle report of pay salaries were implemented by the National Giro.

Nationalized industry is particularly depressed by the lack of interest shown by ministers. Sir Richard complains that during his five and a half years in charge of the railways he never had a serious discussion with a minister about overall strategy and long-term planning, yet he was plagued by politicians complaining about trivial matters.

One of the great crises of his chairmanship was when he was telephoned at home in the

middle of a Bank holiday weekend to be told that an urgent letter had been delivered to the British Rail board in a midnight car. He hastened to the office and found it was a two-page letter from the Minister of Transport about British Rail's decision to give up carrying racing pigeons.

Sir Richard received more than 250 letters from MPs on the same subject. Yet when he arranged a discussion for MPs on British Rail's financial performance only one attended.

There is particular frustration in the nationalized board rooms over the failure of governments to fix and hold to any long-term strategy. During Sir Richard's tenure at British Rail, no investment programme lasted more than six months. The rail network, built on a young economy, because it is constituted capital investment on which there was supposed to be a freeze, rather than maintenance.

Nationalized concerns are not happy about the way their businesses are used as political tools. They complain of price applications deliberately deferred, at huge costs to the taxpayer, because of impending by-elections, and wage settlements that they cannot afford being forced on them by government to pacify trade unions.

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But, in general, managers of nationalized industries believe that they are developing a reasonably harmonious and constructive working relationship with civil servants. The British Steel Corporation is experimenting with civil servants in managerial positions in its works for short periods in the hope that it will increase mutual understanding.

Behind the complaints lies a deep frustration. There is no

doubt that many of those at the top of the nationalized industries miss the competitive ethos and drive to make profits that exist in private industry.

A manager hired from retailing to take over a senior position in a nationalized concern says he left after three years because he did not like running a monopoly. A manager in the steel industry put it more bluntly: "The trouble is you do not know whether you are running an industry or a social service."

There is general agreement that new criteria are needed to determine and measure the performance of nationalized industries. Mr Singer says the accountants have not yet got to grips with a new method of social accounting, which is necessary for industries in public ownership.

Sir Richard would also like to see the social objectives of nationalized industries quantified and determined by ministers. Once in, he would then like to see the guidelines removed.

But, says: "I believe in the total right of the owner to decide what he wants, and in the total right of the manager to decide what the owner wants and then to be left to achieve it." In that way the men who run the nationalized industries might be happy with their jobs.

Concluded

And a partridge on a postage stamp: The Post Office's Christmas stamps issue designed by Mr David Gentleman, Camden Town, London, and on sale on November 23, features the gifts of the traditional carol, "The Twelve Days of Christmas". The partridge and its pear tree appear on the 9p stamp; the 11 other gifts, from turtle down to leaping lords, appear on the five 7p stamps.

Warning by minister on fall in vaccination

By a Staff Reporter

A warning that diseases have been almost forgotten may return if the fall in vaccination and immunization is not reversed was given on Monday by Mr Ronan, Secretary of State for Social Services.

At a seminar in London on vaccination and immunization he reported a drop from 81 per cent to 75 per cent in the number of children vaccinated against poliomyelitis, tetanus and diphtheria, and from 79 per cent to "a miserable" 39 per cent for whooping cough.

Yet since diphtheria immunization had begun, the level of the disease in Britain has fallen from 50,000 cases and nearly 3,000 deaths a year during the war to fewer than 10 cases and no deaths last year. Poliomyelitis has fallen in similar way, and whooping cough from 90,000 cases and 85 deaths in 1956 to fewer than 4,000 cases and four deaths in 1976.

The public assumes that these diseases are a thing of the past, and this is a dangerous belief, he said. "What could happen has been shown by the resurgence of poliomyelitis in the present year, which has produced 14 cases in nine months."

The men will work in plain clothes, and interviewing for the squad began this week. Scotland Yard says there is no intention of making the changes in the squad. However, there are suggestions that half the squad may eventually come from uniformed sources.

Cross-examined by Mr McEwan, Sergeant Corrigan said Mr Townsend repeatedly denied killing Captain Nairac, and said he had been drinking at three public houses in Dundalk on the night of May 14, when Captain Nairac is alleged to have been kidnapped.

The allegation was made by Mr Patrick MacEwan, for the defence of Liam Townsend, aged 24, of Meath, co Armagh, who is accused of murdering Captain Nairac on or about May 15. He pleaded not guilty to the charge, and to four others of possessing a revolver, an automatic pistol and ammunition with intent to endanger life.

The prosecution has alleged that Captain Nairac was abducted from outside the Three Steps Inn, Drumintree, Armagh, by several men. He was said to have been taken south of the border to Renvyle Wood, and shot in the head. His body has never been found.

Det Sergeant Owen Corrigan, a Garda officer at Dundalk, in the republic, said that he and a colleague questioned Mr Townsend on May 15, 1976.

The trial continues today.

Drug squad to take men from uniformed branch

By Our Home Affairs Reporter

Officers from the uniformed branch of the Metropolitan Police are being recruited directly into the drug squad as part of the reorganization of the squad.

The men will work in plain clothes, and interviewing for the squad began this week. Scotland Yard says there is no intention of making the changes in the squad. However, there are suggestions that half the squad may eventually come from uniformed sources.

Last summer the head of the squad was replaced with a senior officer from the new uniformed branch. The new recruiting policy is said to reflect the intentions of Mr David McLean, the commissioner, to create greater mobility between the uniformed and CID branches.

In the past year the squad has pursued a successful drive against "Chinese" heroin trafficking in London but has recently been offered by allegations concerning the loss of 300kg of seized cannabis. Some officers have been suspended, and the complaints investigation bureau at Scotland Yard is investigating the allegations.

Mr Michael Burke, Lady QC, for Oxford University sought a temporary injunction against Pergamon Press, Oxford, and A. Wheaton & Co, Exeter, to stop them using the word "Oxford".

Mr Burke said in use of the word "Oxford" is an act of vandalism. Although the university did not and produced a spelling dictionary, the possibility of its name could be no means be ruled out. It was not right that Pergamon should take advantage of the university's good will.

The case, which is being contested, continues tomorrow.

£400 theft fine
Mrs Virginia Piatto, 43, Sarah, aged 35, a medical university professor, wife, was fined £400 at Aldershot Street Magistrate's Court yesterday for a £10.95 jumper from an Oxford Street shop.

Alderney post strike
Mr Jim Kay-Murphy, leader of the Society of Alderney, announced yesterday that the island is to stop the post office service on the 25th October as of an indefinite period of strike.

North Thame Gas Board defends its service to customers
In a recent column in The Times Bernard Levin detailed the unfortunate experience of a woman who had attempted to get her water heater repaired by the North Thame Gas Board. The board felt that the article was unfair, and invited the Times to see its customer service operation from the inside. Alan Hamilton reports.

Ulster offer of £3,500 'disgusting'

From Craig Seton

Townson for six and a half hours on May 28, and for a further two and a quarter

Townson

Irish police officers threatened to return a man to British paratroopers or The Special Air Service Regiment if he did not make a statement about the murder of Captain Robert Nairac, who disappeared while operating armed and in civilian clothes in Northern Ireland, it was alleged at the Special Criminal Court in Dublin yesterday.

Cross-examined by Mr McEwan, Sergeant Corrigan said Mr Townsend repeatedly denied killing Captain Nairac, and said he had been drinking at three public houses in Dundalk on the night of May 14, when Captain Nairac is alleged to have been kidnapped.

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The prosecution has alleged that Captain Nairac was abducted from outside the Three Steps Inn, Drumintree, Armagh, by several men. He was said to have been taken south of the border to Renvyle Wood, and shot in the head. His body has never been found.

Det Sergeant Owen Corrigan, a Garda officer at Dundalk, in the republic, said that he and a colleague questioned Mr Townsend on May 15, 1976.

The trial continues today.

IRA man says three men and girl are innocent of public house bombings

Martin Joseph O'Connell, a self-confessed IRA intelligence officer, said in the Court of Appeal yesterday that the three men and a woman convicted of the Guildford and Woolwich public house bomb outrages were innocent.

Mr O'Connell, who is serving a life sentence for his part in Provisional IRA bombings in London in 1972 and the Guildford Street siege, was giving evidence to the Central Criminal Court, where the four are appealing against their convictions in October, 1975.

They were all sentenced to life imprisonment.

Three members of the Balcombe Street gang, Mr O'Connell, aged 24, Edward Butler, aged 27, and Harry Duggan, aged 23, with Brendan Dowd, who is serving a life sentence for terrorist activities, have claimed to be responsible for the public house bombings. Mr O'Connell, Mr Butler and Mr Dowd are also serving life imprisonment.

Mr O'Connell said the two Guildford bombs were made by himself, Mr Dowd, and a third man whom he refused to identify. They worked in their room at Waldemar Avenue, in north London, and tased 10 sticks of gelignite into parcels and attached pocket-watches

to a multistorey car park before splitting up. He went to the Seven Stars public house with one of the girls, who carried the bomb in a brown shoulder bag. She dropped it under their bench seat against a wall.

Mr O'Connell also said he was involved in the Woolwich bombing, taking part in two reconnaissances. He said: "We had decided on an attack from outside as, since the Guildford bombs, they were searching people at the entrance in.

On Wednesday, November 6, Mr Butler, Mr Duggan, Mr Dowd and he made the bomb by taping bolts on to a bundle of gelignite.

They did not reach the King's Arms until after 10.30.

As rare parts have to be ordered from the manufacturer, a maker, however, may not produce for at least 10 years after an appliance goes out of production.

Computers, I am told, are reliable as the person operating them is told what to do, the degree to which he is told what to do, and whether he is told to make a decision.

The customer, I am told, is usually right, but not always. British Gas, for example, does not always tell the customer what to do, and the customer does not always tell the customer what to do.

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Tribunals criticized for 'eccentric decisions'

By Our Labour Staff

officials who had been striving to discover some pattern by reading case reports.

Mr Eggington said that fears about disciplinary rules were largely based on ignorance. More than £10,000 could be awarded to an individual employee by an industrial tribunal. A single employer might face a bill for hundreds of thousands of pounds where dismissal inspired by redundancy led many people to lose their jobs without proper consultation.

"Employers must not be afraid of some of the rules," he said. "Nor should they adopt defensive legalistic stances. A clear understanding of the basic principles, combined with meticulous application of appropriate internal procedures, will mean that likelihood of court action recedes."

Dismissals (New Commercial Publishing Co, 4 St John's Terrace, London, W10; £1.50).

Inquiry into baby's death to be in private

The inquiry, which will probably sit in Cambridge, will be chaired by Mr Arthur Lamb, welfare coordinator for Rolls-Royce.

Other members will be Miss Betty Willis, a child health nurse from Devon, and Miss Mary Hartnell, divisional director of social services for Reading.

The panel will look into the services made available to the Peacock, and the communications between the authorities involved, and submit report for publication.

Big stores open with an eye on tourists

By Our Consumer Affairs Correspondent

The House of Fraser in Victoria Street, London, opened its rebuilt Army and Navy store with a champagne breakfast on Monday. In Kensington High Street, a new branch of Marks and Spencer opened to the public yesterday.

The new Army and Navy has computer-controlled cash points, full air-conditioning, specialized lighting on a grid of metal tracks behind false ceilings, bronze aluminium framed windows

and with matching bronzed glass, and four sales floors with 147,338 sq ft of selling space. There is more emphasis on fashion than in the old establishment.

Marks and Spencer's new store occupies four floors in half the old Derry and Toms building, which briefly housed the Biba dreamworld. British Home Stores is to open in the other half next year.

It is the first central London store opened by Marks and Spencer for several decades, and with matching bronzed glass, and four sales floors with 147,338 sq ft of selling space. There is more emphasis on fashion than in the old establishment.

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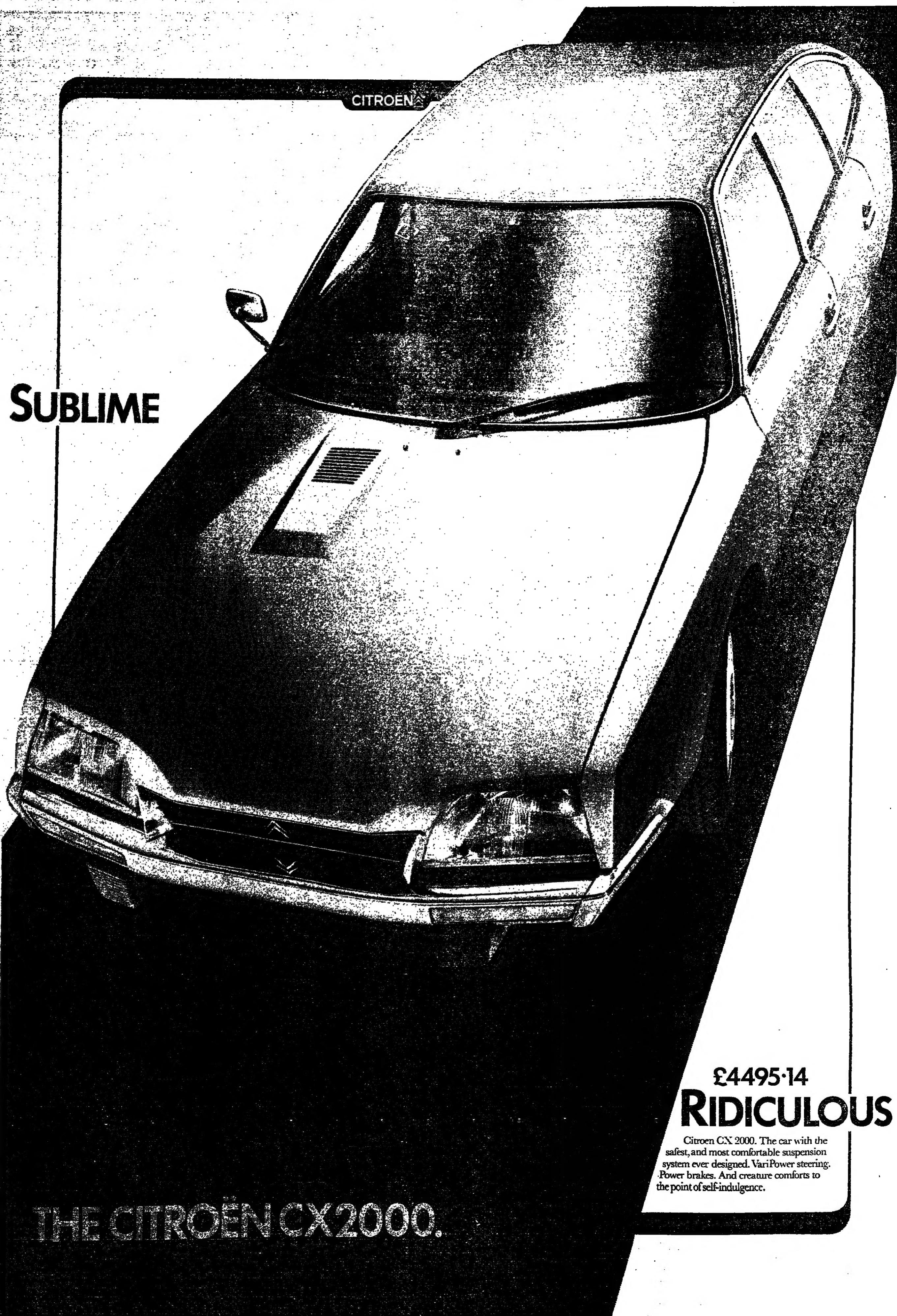
'Adept' father loses custody of his son

A young student teacher who postponed his training so that he could stay at home and look after his son, aged 14 months, lost his fight yesterday for custody of the child.

The High Court dismissed the father's appeal and ruled that custody should go to his estranged wife, aged 21, although the father, also 21, had proved to be alert in dealing with all the child's needs.

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CONSERVATIVE CONFERENCE/BLACKPOOL

Mr Prior says Tories will accept a closed shop only after massive ballot majority for it

Conservative policy on industrial relations and the closed shop sought to remedy by agreement, by code of practice, and in the report by Mr. James Prior, chief spokesman on employment, stated as he set out Shadow Cabinet policy on the key issue upon which discussion in the Conservative Party has centred in recent weeks.

He told the Conservative Party conference, which opened in Blackpool yesterday, that the party believed not in the politics of confrontation but in trade unions, not in opposition, but in industrial relations. That had to be carried on both sides.

If necessary, Conservatives would legislate; indeed, they would have no choice if some of the scandals of recent years continued, because the British public would not stand for it.

Mr. Prior is one of the most important speakers of his career, explained emphatically why Conservatives were against the closed shop. "No union card, no work." "No union card, no right to work, and women of all their leaders.

Mr. Prior said the Conservatives were against the closed shop because they believed in choice and individual freedom, and because it could rob men and women of their livelihood.

Conservative legislation in 1971 to try to deal with the closed shop was not the failure that some people claimed, but for that and subsequent events, if they had won the 1974 election they would have had to look at that legislation again.

Two things had happened since then. The Labour Government was not prepared to carry out the legislation and brought it in its own, which had not only made the closed shop legal but greatly extended its scope. The Conservatives fought that legislation as well as they could.

The most Conservative leader of this or probably any century had said: "Law and order is better than war-war." That was Churchill's view of relations with the unions as well as foreign policy.

So they had to accept management and unions, and the policy he was describing was the result of those discussions. They were discussions entered into with a

completely open mind. They would go on talking. The five principles were laid down in a booklet, *The Right Approach to the Economy*. "Do not make any mistake," he continued. "If necessary we would legislate. Indeed, we would not have any choice if some of the scandals that we have seen in recent years were to continue.

No choice if a union like Sindi goes out on strike. Like a Chicago protection racket. That has got to stop. (Applause.)

"No choice if a union like Aslef or the NUR continues to demand—or management is so supine—that people who have given years of outstanding service should be sacked because they do not want to join a union. That has got to stop. (Applause.)

We should have a choice but to do what the British public, including 13 million trade unionsists, would not stand for it either."

People were not going to sit idly by and allow what amounted to industrial conscription to carry them down and bind to the corporate state. The instincts of parliamentary democracy went too deep in Britain to allow that to happen.

Mr. Prior said the Government was prepared to start negotiations for a closed shop in the Civil Service. Under the Conservatives there would be no closed shop in the Civil Service.

He was fed up with the argument that the Conservatives would have a smash-up with the unions. There would be a smash-up with the unions.

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Some extremists would kick up trouble and one or two union leaders might make a fuss. Clive Jenkins would go on calling for the nationalization of everything from the control of his country's assets to the way society is run. He would do what they believed to be in the national interest.

There would be an independent appeal procedure for anyone whose grounds of conscience were challenged, for anyone whose application to join a union was rejected and for anyone whose union membership card was withdrawn.

Finally, there must be generous compensation for anyone losing his

Reports from Alan Wood, Robert Morgan, Bernard Withers, Howard Underwood and Stephen Goodwin, of our Parliamentary Staff.

or her job as a result of a refusal to join a particular union. The press charter must contain a journalist's absolute right not to belong to a union.

Mr. Prior, who received a standing ovation, said people were not going to sit idly by and allow what amounted to industrial conscription to carry them down the road to the corporate state.

At the end of the day the unions would live with a Conservative government or any other democratically elected government, and any suggestion that they would not do so was an insult to any of virtually all their members and most of their leaders.

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half a out of work, the hundreds of thousands of young people with no job who were rapidly becoming the lost generation, the hypocrisy of a party that fought a campaign on the Back to Work Bill that must have been in their nostrils. It was an impossible situation, which Conservatives alone could do what they believed to be in the national interest.

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'Raids on freedom of the press'

The conference resolved that the law should be "changed with regard to the union closed shop especially for new employees before the agreement is made, so that more consideration is given to the person who did not wish to be a union member".

Mrs. Rosemary Brown (Newham, North-West), moving the resolution, said Conservatives should not be afraid to speak out on principles. She said the closed shop the British people believed in. It was ludicrous to talk about "union bashing" when millions of Conservatives were union members. It was not union bashing to articulate the fears and concerns of millions of people about the violence and rent-a-mob gangs that had created a scandal of picketing and the motives of those who tried to impose the closed shop.

The tentacles of union power were now one of the main problems of the smaller firms, blackmailing them into submission as a sheer condition of survival. Some businesses in her area had been threatened with refusal to handle their goods unless they replaced existing employees with appropriate union staff.

As a journalist, she urged her most of all were the raids on the freedom of the press. (Applause.) The message should be hammered home: "Yes" to cooperation, "Yes" to the encouragement of strong democratic unions, "No" to closed shop victimisation.

Mr. David Atkinson (prospective candidate, Bournemouth, East) said the closed shop was at the core of long-term Marxist strategy for non-parliamentary base. A communist-inspired takeover was to place in the National Graphical Association and the Society of Lithographic Artists and Engravers, which were tightening their grip on the printing and communications in

dustry and were forcing management not to accept art work that did not have the red stocking of Mr. Ray Haymer (Stoke on Trent) said the motion dodged the issue.

Mr. Fred Hardman (Chairman, trade unions and industrial advisory committee) said there had never been a greater opportunity for Conservative trade unionists to take a lead in running the trade union movement. (Applause.) It was nothing to do with government, new unions and new members, or new trade officials. (Round of applause.) It was the responsibility of both sides to be guided by the principles in which they believed.

We in the Conservative trade union movement were not prepared to set about doing what we did in the nationalised monolithic situation, theorise on defence requirements or prescribe remedies for the shortcomings of mankind. What it did was to provide fresh meat once a week and Christmas mail to all members of the staff.

Mr. Ian McLeod (Greater London) said that when on a trip to the Antarctic 30 years ago he had found conditions very bad. On a later voyage those conditions had been much improved as a result of the work of the National Union of Seamen. He was approached to join the union and became a proud member.

But his union in those days did not have the power of the state to impose a closed shop. (Applause.)

Mr. Alan Cartwright (Mansfield, Nottinghamshire), a member of Equity, said that at any one time three quarters of the members of his union were out of work. They had no time for non-union actors and actresses: "In a buyer's market there was always someone who would do it for a fiver, not for a fiver at all, if only for the privilege of getting on television, into a film or on the stage. Mr. David Wilks (Federation of Conservative Students) said that if membership of the National Association for Freedom meant the freedom not to work if you wished. (Cries of "Yes".)

That is all right so long as you do not expect me to let you keep you in the shop. They were discussing the most emotive item on the conference agenda, and if it was used to attack the trade unions that could guarantee the return of the socialists at the next election.

The CTU organisation was being used by union leaders but not the members. The final decision rested with the membership. (Shouts of "Rubbish".) Conservatives should take over and make the voice of moderation heard. History had shown that the closed shop was not the best place to argue about the closed shop was at union conferences, not party conferences. (Loud applause.)

Sir Keith calls for voluntary job shedding

Sir Keith Joseph called yesterday for intelligent use of voluntary wastage as a means of combatting inflation, labour practices and overmanning in industry, which he described as the prime reasons for Britain's economic decline. Sir Keith, chief Tory spokesman on industry, was replying to the debate on industry and free enterprise.

Emphasising that he was not suggesting some vast redundancy plan, Sir Keith said that a few years' constructive use of wastage, "voluntary departure by resignation and retirement", could transform the economy, jobs and the standard of living. Overmanning might appear to reduce unemployment, he said, but it increased it by making the country less competitive. The imperative for enterprise, innovation, enterprise, profitability and productivity.

The conference carried a motion requesting the staffing of enterprise and initiative that "has been a hallmark of the Labour Government and believes that, if the British economy is to be revitalised, immediate steps must be taken to create an environment in which investment, effort and enterprise are encouraged and adequately rewarded".

Mr. James Russell (Basingstoke), moving the resolution, said that under Labour there had been a gradual whittling away of incentives in the industrial and commercial life. Britain was not producing enough to prosper.

Mr. Joseph Eerton (Lewisham, Deptford) said that one of the reasons for the spread of the National Front was the record of the Labour Administration in preventing the growth of enterprise and initiative.

Mr. Christopher Denman (West Midlands) said profits must become respectable again and a fair return accrue to workers and investors alike. A Conservative government should seek ways to restore permanently to private ownership much of the Nationalised sector.

Mr. Christopher Denman (West Midlands) said the problem was lack of growth of productivity. That must be a matter of will and brain power among those who worked in industry, and cooperation between management and unions. Leadership and cooperation were needed to stimulate growth.

Mr. Basil Feldman (Greater London) said Britain could not live by oil alone. After the North Sea bubble had burst "we must see

that our real wealth, the talents of our people, remains the end product of our production of goods and services".

Mr. Stephen Young (West Midlands) said the Labour Party was dedicated to the oppression of private enterprise, investment and profits. Britain was being saved by private enterprise.

Socialists did not like free enterprise because they could not control it. They wanted to take into state control as much of industry as they could and if they could not do that they would nationalise.

Mr. Alan Killick (Birmingham, Moseley) said that if the closed shop was to be imposed on the unions, it would be imposed on the closed shop.

Mr. A. Roberts (Blackpool) said he had a moderate trade unionist policy. He did not believe in the closed shop, but he did believe in the next government, not legislation that would lead to confrontation. He supported Mr. Prior's view and urged others to

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ference notebook
Fred Emery
realism on
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Mr Heath fears threat to democracy if jobless exceed 2m

From George Clark
Political Correspondent

If unemployment continued at the present high level it would lead young people to believe that the present economic system does not work. That could be crucial for the survival of parliamentary democracy. Mr Heath told a meeting of the Federation of Conservative Students in Blackpool yesterday.

For a time, he said, social security benefits could cushion the effect of unemployment on a young man or woman who left school or university without being able to find a job. But eventually that would be lost.

He added: "The blackmail of unemployment would be lost. It would be lost if people became afraid against the closed door and there would be no place to go.

After two years in a university students were faced with unemployment or taking an inferior job, or going to Europe, America, or Australasia.

"They will say that this system does not work. There are some who say that it is the capitalist system that does not work. But I do not believe that is going to be the attitude.

The attitude of young people after two years of unemployment, and if the cost goes up to another million this winter, will be that the whole of our parliamentary and economic system is not working. That will challenge it and that will be a crisis for the future of democracy in this country.

Mr Heath said he was often asked for the solution, and he proposed to give his ideas in his Conservative Political Centre speech at Blackpool today. "But that will not be the answer, that is that in the last two years when all the European Community countries have had this unemployment and inflation, and when we ought to have worked out solutions together we have not done so. As a result of domestic pressures the national leaders have driven back into their own countries instead of finding a common European solution."

He also saw dangers of racial conflict arising from unemployment. "A country like ours, built up with the welfare state, if no law may be enforced it might only be seen as a haven for racial minorities. That was the view of Mr Prior when he was a sub-leader of the Conservative party.

Mr Prior went on to say that a Conservative leader would be a sub-leader of the Conservative party.

He criticized the Commons select committee that investigated the Civil Service. He said there were Labour members on that committee who were completely biased against the service. "We do not want to see by undermining the morale of the Civil Service", he said.

'Too much tax and law, but too little freedom'

The conference unanimously approved a proposal calling for a reduction in the burden of taxation and bureaucracy on small businesses and the self-employed. Mr Peter Ridout (Manchester, Openshaw), moving the resolution, said that more than two million people were classed as self-employed, and that the self-employed were like the trade unions and the big organizations of the Confederation of British Industry and therefore did not have leverage with the Government, both to their own advantage, and that of the economy.

They lived under a "middle-class" mentality. He said immediately that the great mass of industry still worked well and happily.

He did not want to be told that North Sea oil was flowing in, that the reserves were rising and that the IMF was content with the economic health of Britain.

He said that he had a consistent, relentless vendetta against those who only sought to run their businesses without interference and provide a service. It was a wonder, he said, that the public, to protect capitalist ventures that claimed still worked well and happily.

He wanted less law and less government, less interference and less protectionism and subsidies.

He said that the economy had to be run by the market, not by the state.

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Nigerian
leader
begins visit
to US

David Cross
Lebanon, Oct 11
Lebanon General
re, today began two days
in Washington, which are
to be held in the Carter
Centre on the 12th. The
Carter, who is in the
US, to send the Nigerian
to his arrival outside
the House this morning
in the Nigerian leader's
Africa, the
not only Africa
host.

Calling that
role
for independence
he was, but
it talks that would
highly volatile and
dangerous in
Africa which
international peace
and his welcoming
Carter said he would
the African let
on how best to
ways this will be
visit, not only for
Africa and the world
he added.

With this speech the
conference approaches the sensitive
areas of species. It was the first
direct criticism of named countries
for breaching the Helsinki
agreement.

When letters do not pass
freely between members of the
same family, some living in one
country and some in another,
the process of family reunification

In brief

Dissident freed from Lubyanka

Moscow, Oct 11.—Mr Alexander Podrabinek, Moscow dissident who has helped to publicise allegations about Soviet abuse of psychiatry, was released early today after being questioned at the Lubyanka headquarters of the KGB, his friends said.

Mr Podrabinek, a 23-year-old ambulance driver, was seized yesterday evening and bundled into a car.

Chief surrenders

New York, Oct 11.—Mr Casimiro Gutierrez, aged 67, said by law officers to be America's last Mafia chief, surrendered to federal officials for trial on charges that he violated the conditions of his parole by mixing with known criminals. He had served 12 years of a 20-year term before being freed conditionally.

United States says he is in sharp contrast to the American, reported to be America's last Mafia chief, who surrendered to federal officials for trial on charges that he violated the conditions of his parole by mixing with known criminals. He had served 12 years of a 20-year term before being freed conditionally.

Today Pravda gave some

Balloonists in a spin

Barrington, Nova Scotia, Oct 11.—Mr Dewey Reinhard and Mr Charles Stephenson, two Americans trying to cross the Atlantic by home-made balloon, have been caught in circular winds over Nova Scotia after taking off yesterday from Bar Harbour, Maine.

Soviet author quits

Moscow, Oct 11.—Georgy Vlasov, the Soviet author whose works have been widely published in the West, but severely restricted in the Soviet Union, has resigned from the Union in protest against the expulsion of nonconformist writers.

Talks on Belize

Guatemala, Oct 11.—Britain and Guatemala will resume negotiations on the future of the British colony of Belize in New York next month. Senior Adolfo Molina Orantes, the Guatemalan Foreign Minister, said here.

Guarded US optimism on Salt accord

From Our Correspondent
Geneva, Oct 11

Mr Paul Waranke, the head of the American delegation, said today he was "guardedly optimistic" about a Salt II agreement with the Soviet Union within a few months.

Differences over accommodating America's Cruise missile and Russia's Backfire bomber in the agreement were being narrowed, he said, and the two delegations here were now engaged in "flashing out" in the Washington discussions last month between President Carter and Mr Cyrus Vance, the Secretary of State, and Mr Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister.

Mr Waranke, addressing a news conference, pointed out

Owen communiqué says détente irreversible

Moscow, Oct 11.—The following is the full text of the Anglo-Soviet joint communiqué on the visit to Moscow by Dr David Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, as supplied by Renter:

At the invitation of the Soviet Government, Dr David Owen, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, paid an official visit to the Soviet Union from October 6 to 11, 1977.

Dr Owen was received by Mr L. I. Brezhnev, general-secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, and had a discussion with him.

Talks were held between Mr A. A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, and Dr Owen, during which they took part in a businesslike and friendly atmosphere a constructive discussion of the further development of bilateral relations and of a number of international problems affecting the world situation.

The two sides expressed their determination to consolidate and improve their cooperation in accordance with the documents and agreements signed in Moscow in February, 1975, as a result of the meeting between the leaders.

They also agreed on the need to practical steps in the direction of preventing the risk of nuclear war and resolving such issues as

the obstruction of mail services to the US.

From Richard Davy
and Debra Trevisan
Brussels, Oct 11

The United States today accused the Soviet Union of breaching the Universal Postal Convention as well as the Helsinki agreement of 1975 by interrupting mail between the two countries.

Professor Joyce Hughes of Northwestern University in Illinois, a member of the American delegation to the conference reviewing the Helsinki agreement, said that the United States had "with deep regret" a continuing pattern of disruption for the pledges we have made."

With this speech the conference approaches the sensitive areas of species. It was the first direct criticism of named countries for breaching the Helsinki agreement.

When letters do not pass freely between members of the same family, some living in one country and some in another, the process of family reunification

is obstructed, not facilitated," she said.

When a publisher in New York cannot correspond directly with a literary advisor or author in Moscow, she said, citing the Helsinki text, "contacts and cooperation among persons active in the field of culture" are frustrated not increased.

And when an American friend is unable to obtain delivery of a subscription to National Geographic Magazine for a Soviet schoolboy or a copy of the "World Almanac" for a schoolboy in Czechoslovakia "the flow of information is choked, not widened."

These were actual cases, Professor Hughes said. "These are facts and we intend to address them forthrightly and with candour because we believe that a thorough review demands such candour and straight talk."

Human rights, she said, were not under domestic jurisdiction alone: "If the basic human rights of every citizen of every nation are not observed there can be no lasting peace".

Mr Bhutto on trial over death plot

From Hasan Akhtar
Islamabad, Oct 11

Today's debate began to form the lines of argument likely to dominate the coming weeks. The Western states have firmly established their determination to discuss the internal affairs of other states. Several today resumed protests about violations of human rights.

So far the east European countries have criticized only the foreign policies, not the internal affairs, of Western countries, showing the limits within which they believe the debate should be conducted.

Czechoslovakia exemplified the line when it said today that all human rights were enshrined in the Czechoslovak constitution and "by the very nature of the political structure". The right to work protected workers and their families from unemployment, the health service was excellent, education was free and people could pursue careers for which they had been educated. Disarmament had to do with the most important right of all, the right to live.

Human rights, she said, were not under domestic jurisdiction alone: "If the basic human rights of every citizen of every nation are not observed there can be no lasting peace".

When letters do not pass freely between members of the same family, some living in one country and some in another, the process of family reunification

Taking the intellectual road to tragedy and terrorism

John Mendelson, Labour MP for Penistone, contributes this week's guest column.



Any traveller passing through the German Federal Republic or Berlin must be concerned about the potentially serious effect the recent wave of terrorism might have upon the development of parliamentary democracy in Germany. Equally, the existence of so many terrorist groups throughout the world and the newly revived theoretical debate on terrorism must lead us to concern ourselves with the principles of freedom and democratic government to a re-examination of the historic place of violence in political development.

If one starts with John Locke's famous justification of revolution, one will find first of all a whole series of philosophical arguments brought forward in defence of the right of revolution in certain circumstances. Common to these arguments are normally two factors: first, revolution is justified against an oppressive, dictatorial régime which does not allow for change, improvement and development by means of political persuasion. Second, that the revolution will be organized by groups of like-minded citizens, acting collectively, for clearly defined, morally justified purposes.

It will be seen immediately that many of the individual terrorists working in small groups today do not fall within the definitions so far advanced. Most of them

operate within communities where the possibilities of peaceful change by democratic action and persuasion certainly do exist or are in the process of being fully developed. It therefore is all the more important to provide an analysis of the motives and ideological considerations which have led a number of mostly young people to engage in terrorist activities.

After Mr Bhutto was deposed in a military coup on May 5 last, Mr Kasuri began legal proceedings against him and later the Government ordered the prosecution of the former Prime Minister. Mr Bhutto has pleaded not guilty.

Counsel for Mr Bhutto today questioned the competence of the Federal Investigation Agency to prosecute him and objected to the transfer of Mr Kasuri's complaint from the subordinate Sessions Court to the full bench of the High Court, presided over by the Chief Justice. The High Court rejected the objections.

The trial of Mr Bhutto is one of several cases in which his conviction is being sought on charges ranging from murder to misuse and misappropriation of government funds and properties.

Such analysis because it necessarily must be of the common people involved, though by no means all of them, are treated as idealistic and often convinced that they are acting as the agents of history. This teleological purpose is of the greatest significance in any attempted explanation of the common rational and emotional attitudes which inspire many students who are associated with acts of violence.

The element of tragedy enters and any such analysis because it necessarily must be of the common people involved, though by no means all of them, are treated as idealistic and often convinced that they are acting as the agents of history. This teleological purpose is of the greatest significance in any attempted explanation of the common rational and emotional attitudes which inspire many students who are associated with acts of violence.

In Germany, in Japan, in Ireland and in other countries, there have been terrorist movements of the right and of the left in different periods of history, and sometimes at the same time. It is therefore not surprising that one will often find a hotch-potch of ideologies providing the basis of thought and action for many groups of activists.

In Germany and Japan in recent years, as well as in the United States, some professors and other leaders of intellectual inquiry must accept some of the responsibility for the spreading of one particular political illusion which has been very influential in the circles of students and young professional people. Disillusioned with the working class as an agent of political social and political change, some of these leaders of thought have preached the doctrine of "action" by minority groups in order to increase the pace of history.

As the material conditions of working people greatly improve in highly industrialized countries, the idea of radical social and political change did not seem to appeal to the vast majority of the working-class. This led some elderly philosophers, who

had started off somewhere under the influence of Marx, to abandon the Marxist element of their philosophy and to look around for new agents of historic change to bring about the radical new society of which they were dreaming.

Having abandoned the working class as the main engine of history in this century they looked around for a replacement. The students were then discovered to be the replacement and they were encouraged to "provoke" history into much faster

movement towards a new goal.

It would, of course, be absurd to hold

teachers of this doctrine directly responsible for any acts of terrorism, and many of them have since made quite clear their abhorrence of individual violence and murder. But the intellectual dangers of the development here traced had been foreseen many years ago. They were foreseen in the fascinating debates on the political left throughout the nineteenth century, particularly the debates involving the Russian exiles in London and in Switzerland and the famous disagreement between Marx and Bakunin within the organization of the First International.

The first debate was conducted in the

middle of the nineteenth century between Alexander Herzen, the intellectual leader of the Russian radicals in exile, and some of the anarchists residing mainly in Switzerland. In the second debate Marx fought a bitter battle against Bakunin, in which Bakunin was severely defeated.

In these historic exchanges all the main elements surrounding the discussion on terrorism today were already present. The advocates of individual terror showed their impatience with history, insisted on the importance of the strong-willed individual as an agent of thought and action, that they

had started off somewhere under the influence of Marx, to abandon the Marxist element of their philosophy and to look around for new agents of historic change to bring about the radical new society of which they were dreaming.

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SPORT

Motor racing

Indianapolis cars will race at Brands Hatch and Silverstone

By John Blundell

Indianapolis-style racing cars will be seen in action at Brands Hatch and Silverstone next year as a result of an agreement just concluded between Motor Circuit Developments Ltd and the United States Automobile Club.

A full complement of 20 single-seaters, which have turbo-charged engines producing up to 850 brake horsepower (nearly twice that of a grand prix car) and are capable of reaching speeds in excess of 220 mph around the Indianapolis speedway, will be run over four of the two British races, each of which will be a non-championship race at the other.

The last occasion on which Indianapolis cars was seen in Europe was in 1958, when the second of two special races was staged on the old banked track at Monza, Italy, but those were the days of the traditional front-engined roadster, which had the advantage that more aerodynamic bodywork had to be built around the engine.

The granting of championship status for the two races, thereby ensuring that America's leading USAC drivers will be taking part, has been a crucial factor in negotiations, which MCD's managing director, John Webb, has been having with leading American race organizers and officials for more than two years.

The United States "Race Export" arrangement is exclusive to Britain, and prize money and transportation costs will amount to £300,000 for the two events, which will take place on September 30 (Silverstone) and October 7 (Brands Hatch). More details for the two events, which are to be organized jointly by the USAC, the BRDC and the BRC, will be announced later this year.

The arrangement represents a double boon for British race enthusiasts, firstly in enabling them to have their only sight of these spectacular events at home, outside the United States, and secondly in being given two bites of the cherry on consecutive weekends, as a result of the collaboration between the management of the two circuits which share the British Grand Prix on alternate years and which are to meet.

Show jumping

General Blacker reviews Moscow assault troops

By Pamela Macgregor Morris

Major-General Sir Cecil Blacker, chairman of the selection committee of the British Show Jumping Association, told me last week that he had sat in the stands during the European championships in Vienna last June and put together his first thoughts on the problems surrounding the selection of our next Olympic team. This season our Nations Cup team have been composed of nine professionals and eight amateurs.

The first step in the long term plan for success in Moscow in 1980 is the drawing up of a list of 22 amateurs. Some inferior seen to have only the most forlorn hope of getting to Russia, but the hard core of a team which could win a medal is there. The list, in alphabetical order, is: William Barker, David Bowen, Martin Baker, John Brown, Andrew Brown, Tony Brown, Andrew Fawcett, Graham Fletcher, Tim Grub, Deborah Johnson, Sally Mapleton, Adrian Marsh, Tony Newbury, Christopher Parker, Captain Mark Phillips, Peter Robson, Nicholas Skelton, Robert Smith (at 16, the youngest on the list), Stephen Vaisey, John Whitehead, Michael Whittaker, Alan Williams (in Fawcett). Nine of these riders—Barker, Brown, Mrs. Edgar Fletcher, Grub, Marsh, Smith and Michael Whittaker—won the Asia Khan Trophy, will take place on Friday, five days later.

The Royal International will be held in the Empire Pool as usual, and though it will not be an official international meeting, the Prince of Wales Cup will be held on Sunday evening after the Prince of Wales Cup in the afternoon. Dublin will be the venue, five days later, and the Nations Cup, the Asia Khan Trophy, will take place on Friday, five days later.

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Last month the Royal International Horse Show committee tabled a motion to bring the Prince of Wales Cup back to London and to put it on in Hyde Park. They were voted down, but the show is the internationally recognized official international meeting of Great Britain.

But the British Equestrian Federation, under Col Sir Harry Llewellyn, have the final word on these matters, and in conjunction with the executive committee of the British Show Jumping Association, they decided that this would be a retrograde step.

Thus the British Equestrian Federation made the decision to award the Nations Cup and the official international show to Douglas Bunn and Hickstead on a one-year basis.

Boxing

Finnegan to meet Minter for British title again

By Kevin Finnegan

Kevin Finnegan will defend his British middleweight championship against Alan Minter at the Empire Pool, Wembley, on November 8. It is the third title meeting between them with Finnegan still looking for a win.

Minter receives his chance only weeks and looks to be the favourite to win the title. Finnegan, with a cut forehead because the official challenger, Barry Sterring, has decided to stand down.

Bruce Grandham, from Kalamunda, in Western Australia, will take part in the tournament supporting bout at Belle Vue, Manchester, on October 26. The top contest is John Conteh against John Townsend, and the United States' Gangnam takes on Ising Chung.

A Round 10 contest, with 10 rounds, all the £50 rizziante tickets have been sold and so have the cheapest seats at £5.50.

extremely close and both decisions in Minter's favour have been disputed.

On the same Wembley programme, Maurice Hope defends the European light-middleweight title against Joel Bonneterre of France. The contest needed a sum of £15,500 to give Hope the rare pleasure of not having to travel abroad for a championship fight.

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The committee are asking the owners of top class horses to give the BSA the opportunity to keep these horses in the country before considering exports to the foreign buyers. The riders have been selected on form and to their promise for the future. They

will be asked to stand by for the next few weeks.

Other personalities who have won the award include President U.S. Kekkonen, of Finland, and the late Avery Brundage, who was for many years the president of the International Olympic Committee.—Reuter

The Lake Placid organizers originally asked for \$10m and the organisers offered \$15m. Europeans said they had American claims, and the Europeans had slightly improved their offer but the gap was still "considerable".

GENEVA, Oct 11.—The European television networks and the organizing committee for the 1980 winter Olympic Games at Lake Placid are still several millions of dollars away from reaching an agreement over rights for televising the games. But both sides were understood to have revised their claims as talks were expected to continue in the United States in the next few weeks.

This was the feeling here today after yesterday's meeting between the organizing committee and the European broadcasting networks.

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THE ARTS

The two schools of Vienna

Aeolian Quartet
St John's/Radio 3

Joan Cissell

With the 150th anniversary of Schubert's death not so very far away, it is no surprise to find the BBC choosing his inner string quartets and piano sonatas as the main theme of their new series of Monday lunchtime concerts broadcast from St John's, Smith Square. The programmes are also spotlitting the second Viennese school: the chamber works of Schoenberg, Berg and Webern, by way of counter-theme. Appropriately, both Viennas found a place in Monday's opening concert from the Aeolian String Quartet.

It was startling to be reminded that the A minor quartet, written when Schubert was already 27, was his only chamber work published during his lifetime. The Aeolians were sympathetic, but I did not read quite enough between the lines. Listening over the radio, I felt there was too much accompaniment, and not enough time at the start of the first movement, taken with great respect for the *ma non troppo* qualifying the *allegro*. The leader alone observed the pianissimo here. As

the work went on, I had the impression that all four players could have done so much more for Schubert just by closer attention to his dynamic markings. There was never a wide enough difference between their pianissimos and fortissimos, especially in those very sudden contrasts so often favoured by the composer: the last eight bars of the first movement brought one example, and the soaring drop from E major into C sharp minor in the Scherzo another. Sometimes they disappointed in an insufficient response to a single note marked with a surprise dynamic after crescendo. For all its encouraging lyricism, the work surely has more disturbing undertones than they suggested. However, the finale emerged more purposefully.

From the other Vienna, they selected Weber's Op 28 quartet, a masterpiece of compression dating from only seven years before his death. This was clean and clear, even if the three movements sounded rather too much alike. The programme began with an 1827 Fugue by Mendelssohn (posthumously incorporated in Op 81), played with a nice appreciation of the romantic feeling behind the counter-point.

The White Man's Mission

Round House
Downstairs

Ned Charllet

Things may be looking up for the Round House. In the main theatre Alberto y Los Trios Paranoas roll along with the merry mayhem of *Steak*, the very funny "saucy rock" musical. "The food in the bar, which has been dreadful of late, seems much fresher. In the Round House Downstairs, recently enlivened by the National Youth Theatre, the Australian Popular Theatre of Queensland are presenting a white-on-white, minimalist show about the treatment of the black races by whites, particularly about the enslavement and massacre of Australian aborigines.

With the company's ironic views on white supremacy, which, after all, has long been official Australian policy, it is no surprise that this is one com-

pany which had to pay its own way to England. But what is it that is making the Round House a success? *The White Man's Mission* is perhaps more positive about Australia than any number of realistic dramas about beer-guzzling in the Antipodes.

It is critical and cheerful, concerned to give historical names and events their rightful prominence and to tie the atrocities of the past to the policies of the present. In the style of a television quiz show or in moments of evangelistic revival, they fit in statistics such as "30,000 massacred in New South Wales", but they also bring in the war in Indo-China, Stalin's purges, Hitler's final solution and Hiroshima.

Such grand connections actually weaken the effect of the catalogue of Australian and British imperial sins. But Alibert Hurn, who wrote the script, with Richard Fortheringham and the performers, is a strong believer in the educative values of theatre, and with the lively talents and strong singing voices of the company once again proves that theatrical didacticism can be fun.

Some of the notices on this page are reprinted from yesterday's later editions.

Berlin's uncomfortable way with Shakespeare



Ernst Hermann's Forest of Arden

Karajan returns to Beethoven



Herbert von Karajan has recorded the complete cycle of Beethoven symphonies three times in his career. The first was for EMI in the mid-fifties with the Philadelphia; then after a pause of nearly 10 years came the issue with the Berlin Philharmonic made in the Jesus Christus Church in Berlin. This month the third set comes out from Deutsche Grammophon (2740 172, £22.50, 3378 070, £25) with the Berlin Philharmonic again, but this time under the home base of the orchestra, the Philharmonic Hall, rather than that converted church in Dahlem. The recording span has taken over two years, from early 1975 until last Easter.

In Salzburg recently Karajan discussed his decision to return to Beethoven. He had conducted a performance the night before, but had still got up at 6.00 am to fly his aircraft over the Bavarian Alps. It had been a little misty and so he was late. Apologies.

"The symmetrical gaps between the recordings were accident rather than design. I simply thought the time was right, principally for technical reasons. As you get older you become more critical, and probably the sound in those earlier issues is not good enough. I say 'probably' because once I have made a record I never listen to it again."

"I prepared for this cycle by making a pilot of all the symphonies in the Philharmonic, because I wanted to know the precise tempo layout. Then I forgot about them for three months so that I could go back and listen to the music we had made objectively. After that we simply began at the beginning. First Symphony, first movement, which by the way is the most difficult section in the whole cycle to play and which took up more time than any other."

Does this new set represent the altitude of Karajan in his late sixties to Beethoven as the earlier issues reflected the 40- and 50-year-old Karajan? "It's not as clear cut as that, but, of course, it is different from the previous interpretations. I think you will find the main changes in the First Symphony, in the last movement of the *Erinnerungen*, which I've made much faster than before, and in the first movement of the Ninth. We alter mentally as we alter physically."

"Let me tell you a story about Richard Strauss. I conducted a performance of *Elektra* just before his seventy-fifth birthday and afterwards Strauss came back stage and said, 'That's the best performance I've ever heard of my opera.' I thanked him but said that I'd much rather hear what was wrong with my interpretation. Strauss replied, 'Nothing is wrong. This represents your view of a work I wrote a long time ago. You've studied the score; this is your opinion. In five years' time you will play it quite differently.'

"I think that anecdote illustrates why so much nonsense is talked, particularly by some critics, about 'manipulating' the music. That very word is derived from connoisseurs. The more you concentrate, the easier an interpretation becomes; by doing it over and over again you get to a point where you scarcely have to think because you have learnt what the realistic answer lies to what you are trying to achieve. As a conductor I am concerned with rhythm, with the way in which five notes become a melody. And I am also concerned with the orchestra as an organism: it can sound like a hundred individuals and it can sound like a single person."

Karajan then turned to the express invitation of Chancellor Kreisky who accused me of always making a circle round Vienna to avoid it. I agreed to return on condition that I was responsible for the short summer interruption. We have the facilities: the large Festspielhaus represented my idea of what an opera house should be, it has superb acoustics and equally fine technical resources. In *Salomé* the precise lighting effects I wanted could be achieved without any fuss. But these resources are useless unless you have the performers in the right state of mind. There is the story of the two singers who met here in the *Getreidegasse*: the first one said 'Where are you working this summer?'; 'Here in Salzburg', came the reply. 'Goodness, so am I', I like that because each was totally absorbed in his own preparation.

"There must be discipline. I don't work with singers who

words. And my manipulation as a conductor is that I try to bring out the sound that they have decided to spend in the *Salzburger*. Ensemble theatre is having all the time—that is why we try to keep the same team when we revive operas the following year or the one after that.

"People thought that I left the Vienna Opera because of that. That is not so. I quit because of lack of rehearsal time and because the conditions were changing. You are allocated three hours, but do you get them? No. You start late because *Aida* played last night and the sets have not been moved; then as soon as you have started someone else comes along and announces that *Lohengrin* is playing tonight. That begins early, so would you mind finishing a little early. I do not accept that."

"I returned to the Vienna

State Opera last May at the express invitation of Chancellor Kreisky who accused me of always making a circle round Vienna to avoid it. I agreed to return on condition that I was responsible for the short summer interruption. We have the facilities: the large Festspielhaus represented my idea of what an opera house should be, it has superb acoustics and equally fine technical resources. In *Salomé* the precise lighting effects I wanted could be achieved without any fuss. But these resources are useless unless you have the performers in the right state of mind. There is the story of the two singers who met here in the *Getreidegasse*: the first one said 'Where are you working this summer?'; 'Here in Salzburg', came the reply. 'Goodness, so am I', I like that because each was totally absorbed in his own preparation.

"By this time the corridor outside Karajan's room in the Festspielhaus has as many supplicants for attention as the *Marschallin* in the first act of *Rosenkavalier*. The next session of the level had to begin.

"There must be discipline. I don't work with singers who

The Good Woman of Setzuan
Royal Court

Irving Wardle

It was this play that almost ruined the English Stage Company in their first season at the Royal Court 21 years ago. Its failure was variously ascribed to the tactless timing of the Hungarian Revolution, and to the fact that George Devine's production relied too heavily on advice from Brecht's East German colleagues.

That objection can certainly not be made against Keith Hack's version, which arrives in Sloane Square from the University Theatre, Newcastle upon Tyne. What Mr Hack has done is to take a play of Brecht's maturity and stage it in the manner of his anarchic early works.

The relaxed, thought-inviting manner and the Oriental stage conventions give way to feverish expressionist distortion.

Instead of half masks, the company twist their features into caricatures of greed and groveling servility. The set (by Sally Gardner) is a nightmare junk yard of splintered doors, corrugated iron, and oil drums.

There is a distinct satisfaction in seeing that all the stage requirements can be met from those rock-bottom resources.

When Wang (Richard Ireson) goes round town looking for a resting place for the gods, particularly Gillian Martell's beaumanière wife Mrs Shin and Renée Goddard's two beautifully contrasted roles (this is an actress who can adopt facial masks without grimace).

Miss Suzman also achieves a stunning visual transformation from Shen Te to a white-suited mafioso in blue-tinted glasses, although where the first is a deeply felt, innately gentle portrait, passing inexorably over into song at the emotional climaxes, the male performance consists of separate items—a shark-like smile, a bunched posture—that fail to coalesce.

It may be aesthetically pleasing to achieve design solutions within austere limits, but why should the gods come on looking like Burlington Bertie on his way back from the pawnshop. The point about them is

that they are able to look on Shen Te's dilemma with the equanimity of rich tourists: "Brecht put it elsewhere, 'I have a pass in their pocket'."

I am sure that Mr Hack has done that deliberately; his purpose seems to be to mount *The Good Woman of Setzuan* as a street show with prostitutes playing the gods as well as the mortals, thus emphasizing the fable rather than the individual roles.

That may sound very Brechtian, but it makes for a kind of audience contact which I believe is foreign to the nature of the play. Its tone is aggressive. Here we sit in nice seats (well, some of them are not so nice: from mine the sight-line was blocked by a battered old gramophone) and up there are down-at-the-heels like Jonathan Kent and Janet Suzman—who at one point grasps pathetically, muffled waist and asks the house to give her shelter, turning with a sort of decision when she gets no takers. It would serve her right if somebody bought her an ice-cream tonight.

The tone is summed up in the dialectical epilogue, where the speaker points to Shen Te's failure to reconcile virtue with survival and asks the audience to find a synthesis. Brecht was honestly asking for the public's help. On Mr Hack's stage, the appeal is derisively ironic, and the show fades out with the cast glaring out contemptuously at all the useless shambles back home.

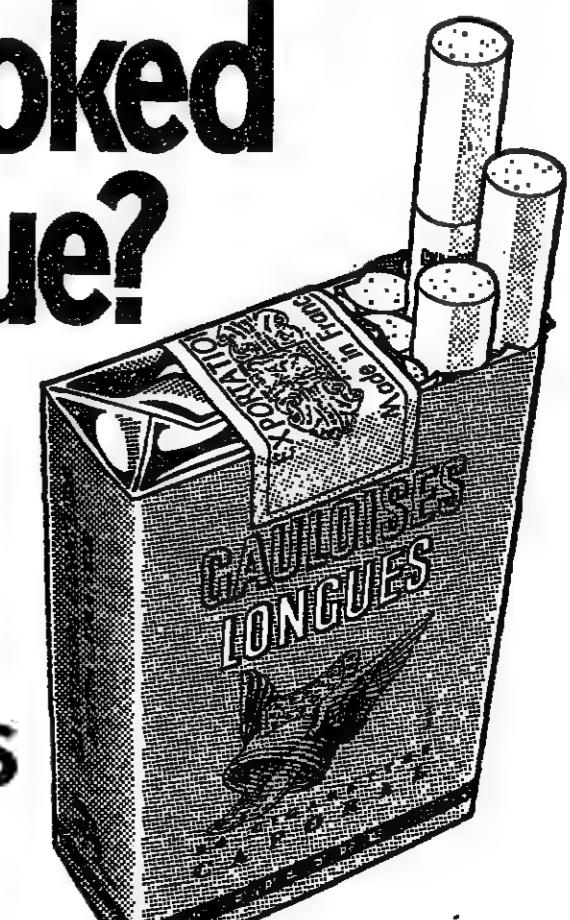
Some excellent small scale performances make their mark: particularly Gillian Martell's beaumanière wife Mrs Shin and Renée Goddard's two beautifully contrasted roles (this is an actress who can adopt facial masks without grimace).

Miss Suzman also achieves a stunning visual transformation from Shen Te to a white-suited mafioso in blue-tinted glasses, although where the first is a deeply felt, innately gentle portrait, passing inexorably over into song at the emotional climaxes, the male performance consists of separate items—a shark-like smile, a bunched posture—that fail to coalesce. The uncredited translation is furnished with a new score by Stephen Oliver, that makes its bows to Weill (rather than Dessau) together with bitter evocations of the Victorian parlour songbook.



Photograph by Donald Cooper

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Paul Moor

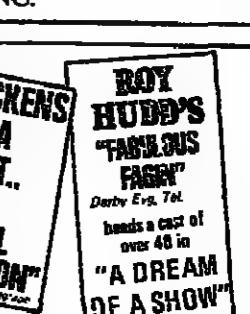
forcing the metre of the translation to limp? One could continue this list of complaints at some length.

The film studios where all this goes on lie in Spandau, at the extreme western edge of Berlin, far from its centre and good transportation facilities. The performance started at eight, unusually late for Germany. That late start means the *Schaubühne*'s audience got out, finally, shortly after midnight, and then had to beat its long way back home. Last, but far from least, Peter Stein denies his creative audience during all that time any opportunity whatsoever to respond to the call of nature.

I respectfully, and in all seriousness, challenge the fundamental attitude of any ensemble which, whether consciously or unconsciously, reveals such contemptuous hostility towards its audience.



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66 Days of Identity, a discoteca playing style

Daily Telegraph 24/7/77

Bernard Levin

We call it free speech, but it has to be paid for

The picture on the front page of this week's *Sunday Telegraph*, by Paul Arniger, was positively surreal (as well as a masterpiece of news photography). It showed Mr Martin Webster, one of the leaders of the National Front, marching alone, carrying a Union Jack and a placard reading "Defend British Free Speech from Red Terrorism", through the streets of Hyde. When I say he marched "alone", I mean that he was not accompanied by any of his party colleagues; but he could hardly have been lonely, for what made the picture as well as the situation so extraordinary was the fact that Mr Webster was surrounded by a sea, a positive ocean, of policemen. I dare say most readers of the paper might have been content to gasp at the scene and read on: my incurable inquisitiveness, however, compelled me to take a powerful magnifying glass and, at the cost of an even more powerful headache, count the number of police visible. I made it 362.

That, of course, by no means exhausted the number of police on duty in the Manchester area; a very much greater force, not far away, was engaged in seeing that the National Front rally (the point of Mr Webster's symbolic solo procession was that the originally proposed route for his party's general march had been disallowed) did not lead to violence.

In the form of clashes between National Front members and those who have proclaimed their intention of preventing the Front from making its presence felt or its views known.

A couple of things have to be said at once. First is that Mr Webster displayed considerable courage in announcing, and carrying out, his own walk.

After all, when he announced it (which was just after his party's march had been prohibited), he could hardly have expected so gigantic an escort, and even with it his action was by no means free from danger; a concerted rush at the police phalanx might not have got to him, but it might well have led to his being accidentally knocked down and trampled upon, and that is

to say nothing of the possibility of missiles being lobbed over the police cordon at him, or thrown from windows. I once got a carload of abuse for pointing out that Goering was a brave man, but he was, for all the abuse, and so is Mr Webster.

Courage, like sincerity, exists independently of the aim pursued by those who have it, and we can condemn both the aim and the alibis without having to insist that they are all cowards.

The second point to be made is that Mr Webster's protest, again irrespective of the nature, beliefs and intentions of the National Front, was absolutely justified. The National Front is a lawful organization, as is its political mirror-image the Socialist Workers Party, and I think it would be just as wrong to suppress the legal activities of the one as of the other.

It may be (I shall come to that aspect of the business in a moment) that the National Front, or some of its activities, will be made illegal; but unless and until that happens it has as much right as any group to propagate its doctrines and show itself on the streets.

There are, of course, laws making the incitement to racial hatred a crime, and there have been many prosecutions under these laws. I hope that the greatest vigilance will be exercised by the authorities in respect of what the National Front says and does in racial matters, and that my will be dealt with appropriately; but provided the National Front keeps within the law, it has the right to say what it likes, and that right must be protected.

It was protected in the case of Mr Webster; but the reason for his accompanied walk must be considered. There are powers by the exercise of which political processions may be banned, and the original route for the National Front's proposed march was banned under these powers, on the ground that the probability of serious violence resulting was very high. So indeed it clearly was, but we have to ask why it was, and see what conclusions follow from the answer. The fear of violence



The National Front's solo marcher amid policemen. Photograph by permission of The Sunday Telegraph

comes directly from the threats to use it made by the National Front's equally totalitarian rivals in the Socialist Workers' Party and similar groups. I wrote about those threats (which, incidentally, have as far as I know not resulted in any prosecutions, though incitement to violence is certainly a criminal offence) a few weeks ago, but what happened at the weekend makes it necessary for me to return to the subject. For the routing of the National Front march (and, in the circumstances, I believe the Chief Constable's decision to seek the powers to ban the original one was justified, as there certainly would

have been violence if it had proceeded, and that is the only consideration the police have to take into account, the political decisions being taken elsewhere) marks a decidedly new stage in the development of the politics of intimidation.

It cannot be right for lawful activities to be forbidden at the behest of a tiny group of the lawless. Yet that is by no means an absurd description of the state of affairs we face. Because the totalitarians of the left have announced that they, and not the law, will decide who is permitted to use the streets for political purposes, and because they have decided and

proclaimed that only totalitarians of their persuasion and not of the equal and opposite persuasion, are to be permitted to do so, their demands are obeyed by the authorities, because they have threatened to use violence if they do not get their way. That cannot be right, and the police cannot be put into the impossible situation of having to take, on non-political grounds, decisions which are inevitably political ones. But when we look for a political solution to this problem, we come upon the most disquieting signs. The Home Secretary has been talking about strengthening or amending the law

for the purpose of bringing within its scope National Front activities which at present are either outside it, or so difficult to define in terms of the law as to make it unlikely or impossible for a prosecution launched against its members to succeed. Now I do not want to see either the SWP or the NF banned or restricted; but if the latter is to have its hands tied legally, as well as in practice, because of the activities of the former, we have reached a very alarming staging-post on the road to servitude.

Obviously Mr Heath is not talking in this fashion out of admiration for the SWP, or for that matter out of denunciation of the NF, though he certainly does not admire the SWP and he certainly does not respect the NF. His theme is socialism: because the National Front actively propagates racialist doctrines, the argument runs, a special obliquity attaches to it, and special methods of dealing with it must therefore be devised.

I don't see it. The doctrines of the NF are certainly repulsive. Its leaders like its appeal base, and its activities menacing. Every one of those statements is equally true of the SWP, and in addition the SWP has declared that it will use, and actually has used, criminal violence in the furtherance of its political ends. Laws must be general, not particular, and if there is a case for further legal sanctions against the NF I do not see how they can be drawn up so as to catch only the NF, and I do not believe that they ought to be even if they can. The cost of the weekend police action has been put at £250,000, which is a high price for protection of a few individuals, particularly since it includes an unnecessary ban on the partial suppression of free speech in the prohibition of the NF march. A high price, yes; but not too high. And if, as I believe, there must be no partial suppression of free speech, and certainly not because those who wish to suppress it have announced their intention of doing so by force, then the price must go even higher. And still be paid.

© Times Newspapers Ltd, 1977

New words and new meanings

What's what between who and whom

Now that English has become largely an uninflected language, it is not surprising that we occasionally get ourselves into a muddle with our few forms that survive, and say things like "it's me", or "between you and I". Somebody, striving for correctness, the other day wrote "I refer to he who is known as Shakespeare".

Sometimes the error is simple. Sometimes, it is deliberate, splendid defiance of grammar, in order not to sound racialistic or prissy. We modern Brits are extremely sensitive to accusations of being stuck up or sounding unduly grand. I suspect that it is this hyper-sensitivity that makes us use the apologetic qualifier "you know" so often, particularly when speaking on radio or television.

A placard advertising an evening newspaper last week trailed some observations by the Prince of Wales with the words "Marriage" and "Me". Sub-editors on evening newspapers have a taste for alliteration. And the way that the Prince's mother starts her speeches "My husband and I" is tell to be quizzically correct as in election class, as well as charming. Whether it is the writer who would

In colloquial English, when the interrogative pronoun comes first and the preposition governing it comes last, it is common to say "who" instead of "whom", as in "who did you hear that from?" and "who did you see there?"

Thus Bamber Gascoigne in *University Challenge* asks "Who do I mean when I refer to the red-headed son of Cosdenborth?" and would sound pretentious if he said "whom". Nevertheless, the use is strictly ungrammatical, and is so described by grammars and the Oxford dictionaries. It looks bad in formal writing.

Its badness is widely of view at the moment in a series of advertisements being published by the Advertising Standards Authority. These start with a picture of some personality (an interesting new one) and the heading "Don't be afraid".

And it is only, wonder then, so few have, in fact, done so? Those of us who are concerned about the public health in general and the dangers of smoking in particular, should make no mistake, tell the adverse publicity given to NSM, has discredited its use to such an extent that there is now a real danger that the tobacco manufacturers will abandon the experiment and write off their millions of pounds worth of research and development costs as a melancholy lesson which they will never forget and never repeat.

I believe that development which might, if not the highest, have benefited the smokers themselves, will now bear fruit for the world, who offend to us, and the smokers shan't be disappointed, and will come to nothing. It will not be repeated and we will only have ourselves to blame if the tobacco companies just continue to smoke words. Cigarettes with or without substances can be debilitating and ultimately lethal.

Of course, Mr Rowland Moyle is right. There is no such thing as a safe cigarette. Any smoker who chooses to believe otherwise is desperately grasping at a false hope. This is too serious a subject on which to convince words. Cigarettes with or without substances can be debilitating and ultimately lethal.

Why have we behaved so differently about NSM that we did over "low tar" cigarettes? Millions of millions of established smokers is likely to be abandoned, and will come to nothing. It will not be repeated and we will only have ourselves to blame if the tobacco companies just continue to smoke words. Cigarettes with or without substances can be debilitating and ultimately lethal.

When the industry planned an advertising campaign based on the health benefits of the new products, the Independent Broadcasting Authority and the Advertising Standards Authority accepted the factual basis of the proposed advertisements, but the Government objected because the campaign would be in opposition to their own anti-smoking campaign. So how were people to know of

the possible benefits of changing from their existing cigarettes to the new ones?

But it is only, wonder then, so few have, in fact, done so? Those of us who are concerned about the public health in general and the dangers of smoking in particular, should make no mistake, tell the adverse publicity given to NSM, has discredited its use to such an extent that there is now a real danger that the tobacco manufacturers will abandon the experiment and write off their millions of pounds worth of research and development costs as a melancholy lesson which they will never forget and never repeat.

I believe that development which might, if not the highest, have benefited the smokers themselves, will now bear fruit for the world, who offend to us, and the smokers shan't be disappointed, and will come to nothing. It will not be repeated and we will only have ourselves to blame if the tobacco companies just continue to smoke words. Cigarettes with or without substances can be debilitating and ultimately lethal.

Of course, Mr Rowland Moyle is right. There is no such thing as a safe cigarette. Any smoker who chooses to believe otherwise is desperately grasping at a false hope. This is too serious a subject on which to convince words. Cigarettes with or without substances can be debilitating and ultimately lethal.

Why have we behaved so differently about NSM that we did over "low tar" cigarettes? Millions of millions of established smokers is likely to be abandoned, and will come to nothing. It will not be repeated and we will only have ourselves to blame if the tobacco companies just continue to smoke words. Cigarettes with or without substances can be debilitating and ultimately lethal.

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The rise and fall of the 'safer' cigarette

Are we being told the whole truth about NSM—the new smoking material—or is some well-intentioned cancer shield being put on the facts for "our own good"?

It is many years since medical science demonstrated that there is a clear causal relationship between smoking and lung cancer, chronic bronchitis and (more marginally) coronary arterial disease. There is no wriggling out of these facts.

Since that time, we have learned that anti-smoking propaganda has little effect on the young—particularly if their elders (often the propagandists) visibly ignore it. Nor has propaganda had much effect on those who are already tobacco addicts.

What then should we do? Leave the established smokers to their bronchitic or cancerous fates and make smoking illegal for those who are not yet hooked? Or should we accept the reality of the situation and do what we can to make smoking safer—if not safe?

It was with this point in mind that the tobacco industry, no doubt with an eye on their company profits too, entered into discussions with Sir Keith Joseph, then Secretary of State for Health and Social Services.

At that time, laboratory studies had shown that a product like NSM could be made which, compared with tobacco, might well have improved

characteristics—for example, a simpler smoke chemistry, a less carcinogenic tar and a less irritant smoke as well as a lower inherent tar yield.

Foremost among these was Dr Charles Fletcher, a member of the Royal College of Physicians committee on smoking, and known throughout the world as a campaigner against the habit. His results were reported in the *British Medical Journal* on June 12, 1976.

From a study of the results of these various investigations, it seems fair to state first that the vast majority of smokers would accept a change from conventional cigarettes to cigarettes containing NSM readily and "without any apparent change in smoking habits", as Dr Fletcher states in his report. Second, that a change to cigarettes containing NSM would bring a reduction in respiratory symptoms (cough and bronchial secretion) in heavy smokers of conventional cigarettes.

From these findings it seems reasonable to assume that if all heavy cigarette smokers changed to cigarettes containing NSM there would be a reduction of bronchitis and related conditions. Surely, no small benefit.

As to lung cancer, little can be said except that laboratory experiments show that the tar from NSM blends is inherently less carcinogenic than tar from fine-cut tobacco. There is now ample evidence that tar can cause lung cancer and Sir Richard Doll has commented in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Health* that the recently improved survival in lung cancer death rates among men in Britain might well be con-

cerned with the introduction of lower tar cigarettes several years ago.

Thus it is reasonable to assume that a widespread change to cigarettes containing NSM would accelerate this reduction in death from lung cancer.

On the basis of this evidence, the Hunter committee informed the Department of Health and Social Security that they had "no objection" to the use of NSM as a substitute for some of the tobacco in cigarettes, and gave its formal approval of the use of NSM in certain specific cigarettes.

He continued: "The co-operation of the industry in any such strategy is important, for if they do not continue to put a heavy investment into experiments and research for safer cigarettes, we will not make rapid progress. If they do not collaborate in such a strategy, we will just continue with a series of ad hoc measures reluctantly agreed by the industry or imposed by the Government.

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The Legacy Check List

May we suggest some additions to the considerations you generally apply to making bequests. In the changing conditions of today, we believe that it is wise to add the following questions:

- Does the charity serve those in the greatest need, now and in the future?
- Help the Aged is helped by thousands of dedicated people, young and old. This is why it achieves so much with each £ donated.
- Does the organisation show practical initiative in changing circumstances?

In the last ten years alone Help the Aged has pioneered nationwide flats for needy old people, day centres for the lonely, mini-buses for the housebound, a volunteer-distributed newspaper helpful to the old, aid for day hospitals, extra geriatric research, international help, and much more.

- Will the value of the bequest be greatly reduced by inflation?

This aspect is given great attention by Help the Aged trustees. They endeavour to use funds for work that will give enduring benefit, and therefore will grow in value.

- Can the donor retain a personal association with the work helped?

Help the Aged welcome such a link, for the charity sees itself as a channel for the compassion and goodwill of its donors. A whole scheme for the elderly in the UK can be named in conjunction with a £200,000 bequest; £150 inscribes a name on the dedication plaque of a day centre; £100 names a hospital bed in Asia or Africa.

Among the well-known people who endorse the value of a legacy to Help the Aged are Lord Shawcross, Lord Gardiner, (the charity's president), Lady Spencer-Churchill, and General Sir Brian Horrocks.

Full details and an Annual Report and Accounts gladly sent on request to: The Hon. Treasurer, The Rt. Hon. Lord Maybray-King, Help the Aged, Room 181, 32 Dover Street, London W1A 2AP.

How Green was Plum's Valley Fields

Bertie Wooster, Jeeves and a phantasmagoria of Eggs, Beans, Crumpets, Jnd Mulliners will be leaping into their ghostly two-seaters on Saturday and cooling down to Dulwich, SE21, for the jolliest reunion of the year. With any luck there will

hat's what
between
who
nd whom

English has become
an uninfected language
surprising that we occa-
ly get ourselves into
with our few cases
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recreetude, like
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as Shakespeare.
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and when future shape
Chinese communism will
take. But what does seem
fairly certain is that Mao's
thoughts—albeit care-
fully chosen—will continue to
light the way forward.
Whatever the future holds, seeing more skirts and

Pragmatic approach follows perpetual revolution

by Peter Hopkirk

"The banner of Chairman Mao is being thrust so high in China today", a European diplomat remarked to me in Peking, "that the words on it are becoming increasingly difficult to read".

Western analysts believe

that the new China of Chairman Hua Kuo-feng is turning

away from Maoist preoccupation

with the perpetual revolution

and adopting more prag-
matic production-oriented

polices aimed at achieving

rapid economic growth and a

higher standard of living for

a population fast approaching

1,000 million.

Using policies which would

have been impossible in the

lifetime of Chairman Mao,

they have embarked on what

Chairman Hua has described

as "China's new leap for-
ward" in an effort to make

up for the lost years and get

the nation on the move

again.

As proof of their con-

tinued veneration for Mao

as the architect of their

revolution, however, they

can point with pride to the

huge mausoleum they have

built for him in Peking's

Square of Heavenly Peac-

There, like some jade-

suit hero of an earlier

dynasty, he is preserved in

a crystal sarcophagus

covered by the Red Flag of

China.

What observers in the

West have not yet fully

worked out, if indeed the

Chinese have themselves

just had this new leap for-

ward can be achieved, and

also what future shape

Chinese communism will

take. But what does seem

fairly certain is that Mao's

thoughts—albeit care-
fully chosen—will continue to

light the way forward.

Whatever the future holds,

seeing more skirts and

blouses", one observer told me. "And in brighter colours than ever before. Women are carrying handbags, moreover, and who knows, next year we may even see dresses."

To the careful observer faces, too, can reveal thoughts that can never be expressed openly. "Despite the rejoicing at the time of Teng Hsiao-ping's fall from grace, one could see that many hearts just were not in it", one western diplomat told me. "When Chiang Ching's turn came it was a different story, so disliked was she. The excesses which took place during the Cultural Revolution—the rampaging Red Guards and other painful happenings—blamed on her and her supporters."

"A year ago it would have been impossible for me to talk to you like this", Huang Chun-ying, the veteran actress and intellectual, told me in Shanghai, former stronghold of the Gang of Four. Because her husband had acted with Chiang Ching in the 1950s, he had spent more than five years in prison. "Chiang Ching tried to cover up her own past by blaming those who knew her in those early days", she explained.

Neither she nor their children had been able to visit him in prison, and at one time they were even told that he was dead. They were, however, far from the only ones to suffer at Chiang Ching's hands. Other once-prominent figures, especially in the arts, were only now beginning to emerge after years in limbo, she said.

Western observers in Peking see a thaw there, too, particularly in the cultural and intellectual spheres. The curtain has been allowed to rise again on classical Peking opera, another victim of Chiang Ching's obliquity, while the long-banned "dragon" and "lion" dances are now being seen again on the streets during processions and demonstrations.

To the analysts in embassies and foreign newspaper bureaux in Peking, even what people wear can provide valuable clues to the ideological climate. "We are a general long frustrated in the country during Chairman Mao's declining years", says the ultralibertarian, or radicals, led by his widow, Chiang Ching.

The mainspring of the new pragmatic school is the unpredictable and redoubtable Mr. Teng Hsiao-ping. The plain-speaking Mr. Teng, once described as "the only one who can catch a cat with his bare hands", has now joined the Gang of Four, of which Chiang Ching and her supporters are accused.

Although the unofficial

wall-posters demanding that

the four be beheaded, skinned

or buried alive have come

down, the official campaign

of vilification continues.

A widespread purge of their

supporters, or "collabora-

tors", also goes on throughout China, accompanied

according to unconfirmed



毛主席的无产阶级革命路线万岁！

At the same time their victims are being steadily re-habilitated.

What will happen to the "gang" nobody knows. In a country where a man was executed for defacing a wall poster and refusing to repent, one might reasonably expect such enemies of the people to be swiftly brought before a firing squad. But as one Western diplomat in Peking put it: "In China the higher you are the softer you fall".

Indeed, the last emperor, convicted of collaboration with the Japanese, was allowed to go free after serving a term of imprisonment. Edgar Snow, the American reporter, recalls chiding him at a Peking cocktail party.

Most observers see the struggle for China's leadership as settled, although there have been reports, again unconfirmed, of some local resistance to the new policies. They do not expect a further contest between the veteran Mr. Teng, who is 73, and the comparatively young

—at 57—Chairman Hua. Mr. Teng told Japanese visitors last month that he wished to remain an assistant, adding that he intended to live another 20 years.

Whether or not he becomes

Prime Minister, as many observers believe (he is Vice-Premier and Vice-Chairman), he will undoubtedly exert an extremely powerful, if not dominating, influence on the new China.

Analysts in Peking and elsewhere are now considering the eventual shape Chinese communism will take under the new leadership. One event which has provided food for thought was the recent visit of the once-denounced Yugoslav leader, Marshal Tito, to China.

One experienced observer in Peking told me he saw China moving towards socialism more than towards the type of communism seen in the spheres of industry and commerce. He regarded as "quite out of the ordinary" the effusive terms used by the Chinese to congratulate Marshal Tito on his country's economic achievements. He also saw

the advanced industrial nations for assistance in achieving its economic goals. It paves the way for ideological unity for this by arguing that while Chairman Mao stood against "total Westernization" he also opposed the "anti-foreign mentality".

In view of the decline in China's trade with the West, and not least with Britain which last year slipped from ninth to tenth place among non-communist trading partners, this is encouraging news for companies hoping to do business with this market.

A British trade delegation led by Lord Nelson of Stafford, chairman of the General Electric Company, has just been in China while at home sales directors follow Peking's latest pronouncements as avidly as the Sinologists.

New or old? Many leaders are reinstated

by David Bonavia

The biggest problem in refer-

ring to China's present lead-

ers is to know whether to call

them new or old. Some

formerly important figures

have been rehabilitated or

reinstated in senior positions

—in some ways the new

radical group looks like a

phantom of the one de-

stroyed in 1966.

The present leadership was

established publicly at the

eleventh Congress of the

Chinese Communist Party

held in Peking last August.

It consists of a Politburo of

23 full members and three

alternate members, and a

central committee with a

total membership of 333 full

and alternate members.

The essential points of the

Congress—and the third

plenum of the tenth Cen-

tral Committee which pre-

ceded it in July—were to

confirm the party chairman,

Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, to

expel from the party

the Gang of Four which

includes Mao's widow

Chiang Ching, and

to rehabilitate Mr. Teng

and to reappoint him to

his senior posts in the

party, government and mil-

itary posts.

The leadership now con-

sists of four important vice-

chairmen theoretically sub-

ordinate to Chairman Hua,

but in practice indispensable

to him. These are Mr. Teng,

Marshal Yeh Chien-ying, the

by their reappointment to

the Politburo from which they were ousted in 1969.

However, it would also be wrong to think that the new leadership contains no younger people or new elements. Mr. Ni Chih-fu, an engineer, has been promoted to full membership despite the fact that he came up originally under the influence of the radicals who now languish in detention somewhere.

Chairman Hua himself is only now turning 57, and some promising young

sters have been brought into the Central Committee.

But while the call of the tenth Congress was for dissident party members to swim against the tide in the hope of perpetuating the Cultural Revolution, the idea now is to bring on a limited number of young people who show themselves docile to instruction from above.

Special efforts have been made to show the national ethnic minorities and the armed forces that their interests are taken into account in the structure of the 1977 leadership. Mr. Lanfu, a veteran Mongol party leader who was discredited in the Cultural Revolution, and ambiguously rehabilitated in 1973, is now a full member of the Politburo responsible for united front work (winning the adherence of people who are not totally committed to Marxist ideas).

But on the whole foreign

skill has not been emphasized

in the appointments, which

is surprising in view of the

leadership's professed desire

to expand foreign trade contacts.

A parallel may perhaps be seen in the long term served by Mr. Gromyko in Moscow before he achieved

membership of the Polit-

by their reappointment to

the Politburo.

At the same time, one of the

most important and sen-

sitive political jobs of the

Chief Political Commissar of

the Armed Forces—has gone

to Mr. Wei Kuo-ching, by

origin a Chiang—a member

of the Kuomintang which

claims relationship with the Thais

and which has its own autonomous

The person who has apparently risen fastest in the new leadership is Mr. Wang

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Soviet Union remains chief bogey

Richard Harris

Chinese revolution has red course under its new, re-collective leadership. If one turns from ages in domestic affairs what change is apparent in foreign policy it would hard to say the same. The statements made by Chairman Hu since he came power last October

and other theoretical aspects of the world made available in the terms made by Mao. The two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, are the enemies of the world, but the Soviet Union is the worse. These superpowers are in competition with one another and consequence war is inevitable.

They represent the first and second primarily by a revolutionary third world, but also tending towards conflict with the developed countries, as in western Europe and Canada) which respects the domination of the superpowers into its affairs. Germany, for instance, exports more than 80 per cent to a Washington, while at the same time security of China has gone down.

The trade surplus has dictated a close attention to the motives of world powers. Since the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Soviet Union has been unchanged. In all that was said at the recent party congress in August, the Soviet threat is still as ever and still affects all other Chinese relations.

This was notably illustrated by Mr Cyrus Vance's visit to Peking at the end of August. Despite all that was said beforehand in Hong Kong, Taipei and Washington, no action was taken in Taiwan, yet the two parties with no sign of friendship being seriously disturbed.

Distressed as the Chinese may be by American unwillingness to break with Tai-

wan, their hostility to the controversy would shift towards the expert and away under which they believe from the red. That would mean more Chinese students going abroad. All such international cooperation would take China away from the Sino-centric tendency, to which Mao's Japists drew him, to one of better adjustment to the facts of China's future world relationships.

China's role in the United Nations could become more cooperative and less divisive.

To support their constant warnings that Europe, rather than China is the likely object of Russian aggression, the European Communists cultivate the European Communists and urge them not to be taken in by détente but to stand firm against Moscow.

All these are the realities of power as the Chinese see it and most of it bears little actual relationship to their theoretical formulations. At its core is the balance between China, the Soviet Union, the United States and Japan: any shift by one power will inevitably affect the other three.

This is the real world the Chinese live in. Certainly Chinese interest in the Third World has lost the priority once given to its revolutionary potential; what matters to China now are those countries that show themselves to be most anti-Soviet—Zaire, Sudan, Egypt.

Probably the new leadership will slowly reassess the old Maoist formulations and arrive at a revised view of the world over a period of time. That this might include some more serious attempt by the Chinese to improve relations with the Russians is a possibility.

But apart from such a reassessment—and that could take a long time—the only other way to consider China's foreign policy is to ask what attitudes the world might reasonably follow from the known domestic changes.

The co-operation on economic development, the rejection of damaging outbreaks of revolutionary struggle, the return to the traditional and pragmatic in education, all these would surely imply a less dramatic, less revolutionary view of the world. If total Chinese self-reliance was one extreme associated with the Gang of Four then learning from the developed world in industry and in culture may both be more readily adopted.

The "red, and expert" is

by Henry Stanhope

The sleeping giant has not only woken up, but is sitting up and criticizing the pattern of the wallpaper. This is not new; even during Mao's lifetime there was some dissension in Peking over the pattern of China's defences and the shades of emphasis which distinguished them from those of other world powers. But it is only in post-Mao China that a desire for change has been open and unequivocal.

China-watchers are picking up clear signals of a move away from the Maoist

concept of a people's war in which the emphasis would be on men rather than machines. It was a concept uniquely suited to China's resources—that is to say an underdeveloped industrial base and a population of more than 900 million. But in military terms it was limiting.

Only in their ties with South-east Asian communist parties may the Chinese feel they can make a distinction between their economic and their simultaneous "support" in very limited ways for these guerrilla movements. To jettison them entirely would seem to create a vacuum that they would imagine the Russians would fill.

If the drums and flags of political fanfare come gradually to be stored away and China becomes a less democratic revolutionary power no reason would be that no member of the new collective leadership could possibly give up the ideological supremacy that Mao claimed for himself as the leading Marxist after Stalin's death.

President Tito's visit underlines the Chinese view that every country must follow its own interpretation of Marxist doctrine. China will follow a Chinese path.

Mr Teng Hsiao-ping is looking forward to a strong China by the end of this century; he knows well enough that political campaigns are no way to bring about the modernized agriculture, industry and armed forces that will make China strong.

There was one phrase reiterated during the eleventh congress which seemed to sum up China's new outlook: the necessity of "seeking truth from facts". In recent years it can be shown that this adage has governed Chinese foreign policy. In the future it may do so even more.

aircraft missiles, Type-59 and Type-60 amphibious tanks, Type-62 Chinese-designed light tanks and armoured personnel carriers, diesel-electric submarines, destroyers, fast patrol boats, nuclear powered attack submarines and small arms.

But the Chinese forces have a long way to go, literally and metaphorically. The IISS lists up to 40 intermediate range and also up to 40 medium range ballistic missiles— together with about 80 Tu-16 medium bombers which could be used to drop nuclear bombs.

An intercontinental ballistic missile with a range of up to 3,500 miles has been tested and may have been deployed, but an even more ambitious ICBM, capable of 8,000 miles, has still not been tested although it has been under development for years. Missiles launching tubes have been detected on a Chinese submarine, but there are no signs yet of any missiles which are ready to equip it.

Of the 3,950,000-strong armed forces, 3,250,000 belong to the army. But of 136 divisions in what are called the main forces—as opposed to local defence units—121 are infantry divisions, and only 12 are armoured. The IISS points out in *The Military Balance* 1977-78 that only a seventh of existing manpower belongs to the navy and air force. The overall picture is of an armed force designed for pure defence with little logistic capacity for sustained operations beyond its own frontiers.

Moreover, Chinese weapons are mostly between 10 and 20 years out of date.

Military technology is thought to be up to 15 years behind that in the West and the Soviet Union. A lack of high-grade steel is a big disadvantage.

Meanwhile, as the Chinese struggle to keep up with the pace of technological change, the superpowers are moving ahead.

Modernization must depend heavily upon Western cooperation, so it would seem. In December 1975 the sale of Rolls-Royce Spey engines, used in RAF Phantoms, was allowed to go through without incurring the disapproval of the Western Consultative Committee (COCOM). The engines will be used in Chinese-designed fighters. Large quantities of Western metals including aluminium have also been bought.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) lists the following among Chinese-produced weapons:

Mig-19 and P-9 fighters, Russian designed Sam-2 anti-

An awakened giant seeks to build its strength



A small boy strikes a martial pose in front of the new mausoleum to Chairman Mao in the Square of Heavenly Peace in Peking.

5,500 tanks and 1,500 aircraft.

On the Chinese side, the burden on the Chinese economy is rather higher than 230 major surface warships, it is 3,500, and the Soviet navy, it is 1,200. The United States, whereas China has 22, the Soviet Union has 25. In terms of aircraft, the per cent of the gross national product compared with only 6 per cent. The Soviet Chinese air force 5,200 of inferior quality.

The overwhelming impression is that the PLA is starting along an uphill road, and probably an expensive one. How quickly it will depend to some extent upon how much money it is willing to spend and, still more, on how far the PLA will be prepared to import new equipment to emphasize its superiority.

The PLA's second priority involves national security and its third concerns Taiwan. Neither of these would seem to be as much of a distraction as those computers from the United States. Estimates of pre-armed forces. While the Chinese may have little real cause to fear an invasion by America, they have much more garrisons.

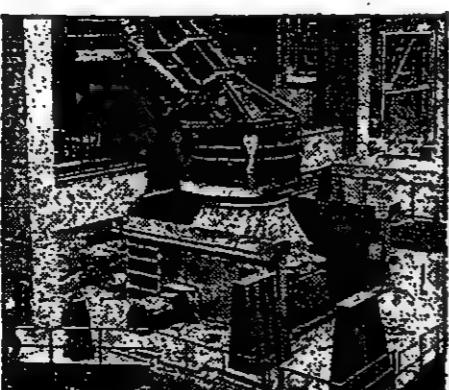
But the Soviet forces are divided between a number of fleets and fronts. On the

The author is Defence Correspondent, The Times.

Davy throughout the world.



Blast furnaces:
Davy is a world leader in ironmaking plant. This 11.3 metre hearth diameter furnace, part of a £70 million integrated iron and steelworks completed in 29 months from letter of intent, is typical of the modern high output furnaces which Davy is building.



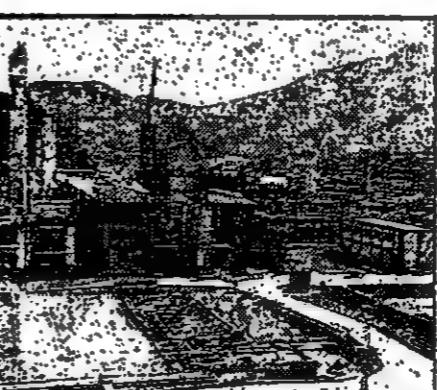
Basic Oxygen Steelmaking:

The world's first steelmaking plant designed and built specifically for operation by the OBM process.



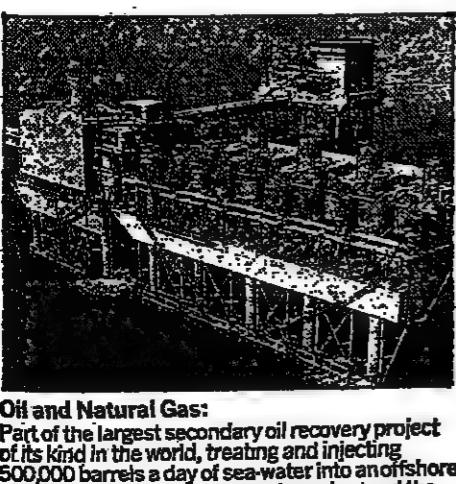
Complete Steel Plants:

Davy was main contractor for this new mini-steelworks, incorporating electric arc melting, continuous casting and one of the fastest rod mills in Europe.

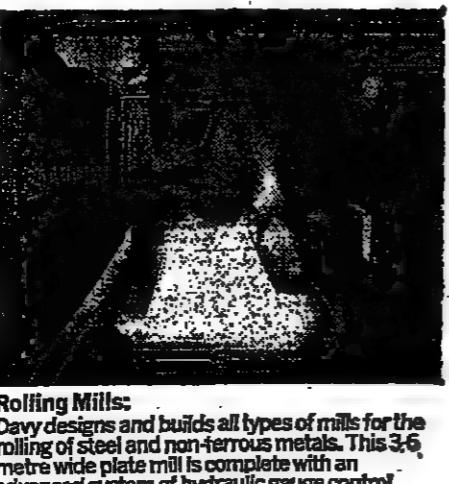


Chemical Plants:

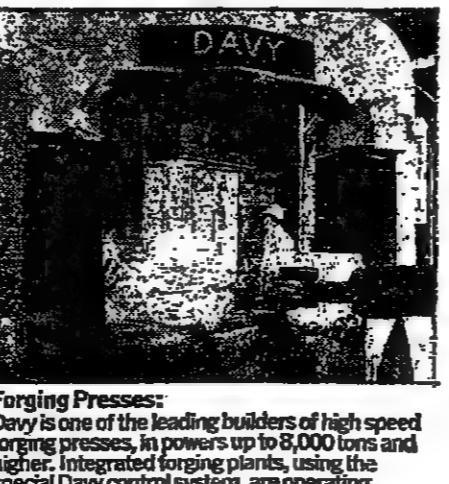
1,000 tons per day methanol plant. In its first 3 days of operation, this plant achieved 80% output—probably a world record. Davy's recent orders include two methanol plants each of 2,500 tons a day capacity, the biggest so far.



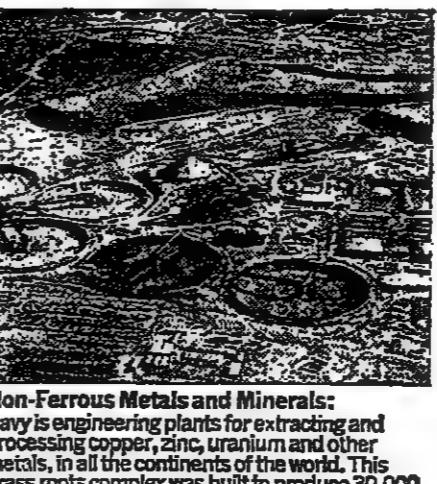
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Dead civilizations along the Silk Road

by Peter Hopkirk

Ever since China's ancient Silk Road was rediscovered by Sir Aurel Stein, the pioneer of Central Asian archaeology, in the early years of this century, excavators have been uncovering the secrets of long-dead civilizations along its route.

Their most spectacular find so far on this once-busy trade route between China and Europe is the Flying Horse of Kansu, today regarded as one of the world's great art treasures. Its discovery at Loin in 1969, but initially kept secret by the Chinese, was first disclosed to scholars in the West by *The Times* in 1972. It was exhibited in London a year later.

Although nothing as startling as this bronze masterpiece has since come to light, many other important relics of China's rich past have been found in tombs and at sites along the route. These include paintings, silk manuscripts, brocades, sculptures, coins, official documents and the everyday merchandise of 20 centuries ago.

However, many extremely important finds of earlier years today enrich the collections of the world's great museums, including the caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang oasis, a discovery of the works of art that which has been likened to archaeologists are uncovering that of the Dead Sea.

Such losses are a New discoveries in this region, as well as elsewhere in China, are regularly published in the Chinese-language journal of archaeology *Wen Wu* and eagerly followed by Western scholars.

The ancient Silk Road brought China's Han dynasty into contact with the Roman Empire more than a hundred years before the birth of Christ. But the long silk and other luxuries, including shubark, from China were being exchanged for Roman gold and other European merchandise.

Even up to modern times it has been an important trade route across Asia, also reaching down into India, and measuring 7,000km from end to end.

Over the centuries, a chain of oases, including Kashgar, Karkand, Khotan, Turfan, Tun-huang, Wuwei and Sian, grew up as staging posts along this prosperous route, as not only

merchants' caravans but world renown, said. "It also Buddhist pilgrims seems almost certain that crossed its snowy passes and many important discoveries will be made along the Silk Road in the coming years.

Most recent find has been made by pure chance.

"A great deal of construction work is going on along this old trade route, particularly in Turfan, Sian and Wuwei. Whenever the workers stumble upon a tomb or other site then the archaeologists are called in."

At present, almost all our

excavations are 'rescue archaeology.' Two books have also been issued by the Chinese containing many photographs of their finds along this route as well as from the West who removed the treasures from the Silk Road. They are the Swedish traveller Sven Hedin, the German archaeologist Albert von Le Coq, and the French scholar Paul Pelliot.

In China they are regarded as looters, while among Western scholars especially around towns such as Turfan, Wuwei and Sian that excavators are reaping a rich harvest from China's past.

"So far we have merely scratched the surface," Mr Hsia Nai, director of China's Institute of Archaeology, and an archaeologist of

generally.

It is no secret among items from Tun-huang, Western specialists of the which has been described region that a very careful because of its famous and detailed index of painted caves, as "an art Chinese antiquities in gallery in the desert," foreign hands is kept in Finally the Chinese authorities, it is not known, of the day ordered all London dealers say, for the remaining manuscripts members of the cultural from the library to be staff of the Chinese removed to Peking. This Embassy to attend important sales of their antiquities at Sotheby's and Christie's to keep an eye on prices, and on the market Tang scrolls when he revisited Tun-huang.

Their greatest loss is probably the manuscripts and scrolls from the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas which Stein removed in 1906 and on a subsequent visit. He had heard rumours that a huge collection of such treasures, hidden in sealed chamber there, had come to light.

By means of assistance, persuasion and good luck, the Chinese would say shameless trickery—he was able to bring away with him to Kashgar 29 cases of manuscripts, paintings and textiles, no small achievement across the bleak wastes and ice-clad passes of Chinese Turkestan. It cost him, through frostbite, the toes of his right foot, and very nearly his life.

Altogether this discovery

is regarded as one of the

most important ever made

anywhere. It included the world's first known printed book (by means of a block), dating from AD 868, and a wealth of other treasures of great art historical importance.

The following year, the

French archaeologist Paul

Pelliot removed many more

treasures from the

Chinese

scholars point to

this important loss if one

attempts to argue that the

antiquities and manuscripts

brought back by Stein and his fellow archaeologists

were in fact "rescued" by

them for posterity.

When I asked Mr Hsia

Nai whether China might

not one day like Greece

and the Elgin Marbles—

demand the return of its

"lost" treasures, he an-

swered: "Perhaps, but at

the appropriate time."

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Successful surgery to Flying Horse

The Flying Horse of Kansu, back in China after its successful tour of the West, has been undergoing delicate surgery.

Bronze conservators have successfully repaired a hairline fracture, detected with the aid of X-rays, which threatened the leg, which bears the whole weight of the Han masterpiece.

A brilliantly convincing copy stands in its place in the Museum of Chinese History overlooking Peking's Tien An Men square. Only someone very familiar with the original would spot the difference. In fact, the copy is labelled "reproduction" but few visitors can read Chinese.

Even dropping on one party of Western tourists

being conducted round the museum, I noticed that the guide who explained the exhibits to them failed to mention that the horse was not the original. Nobody seemed to realize that they were looking at a copy.

They must have been somewhat puzzled when the following day they visited the Forbidden City. For there, among the archaeological treasures displayed in the Hall of Preserving Harmony, was another Flying Horse, apparently identical.

In fact they are just two of a small number of copies made for distribution to the most important museums, all close to the original in size, shape and spirit as could possibly be achieved by modern bronze technology.

Another important aquatic find has been made since the discovery of the Flying Horse eight years ago. Archaeologists working at Lin-tung in Shensi province, in 1974 uncovered a large number of life-size terracotta horses in a vast Chin dynasty tomb.

One of these is on exhibition in the Forbidden City, with two life-size figures of men from the same tomb, and another can be seen in the Museum of Chinese History.

They represent an earlier type of horse once native to China, smaller and slower than the type depicted by Prevevalsky's horse still to be found wild in Mongolia. There are also a number of them in captivity in zoos outside China.

P. H.

Steps of the red footed booby

by a Special Correspondent

Pheasant is typical of British, not Chinese, cuisine yet anyone who has recently devoured such a bird is probably indebted to China: the common ring-necked variety comes from Chinese stock introduced in the mid-eighteenth century. When pheasant is eaten in China, however, it is partly for dietary reasons. A recent book on traditional medicines in Tibet and Chinghai credits its flesh, fresh or dried, with tonic effects and strengthening yang (the male principle of the yin-yang duality)—no doubt the reason why pheasant figures in Norman Douglas's *Lovers' Cookbook*.

This practical bent to Chinese interest in birds is seen in many other examples. Cormorants are still used for fishing in some places; fishermen in the Paracel islands follow the red-footed booby to find shoals of fish; and numbers of birds are exported as cage-birds or for food.

In China's predominantly agricultural economy birds are studied mainly for their effect on crops, orchards and forests. For a time in the mid-1950s there was a vigorous attack on sparrows as part of the campaign to eliminate the "four pests" (rats, flies, mosquitoes and sparrows). Sparrows were later removed from the list (being replaced by bedbugs) partly because they eat harmful insects as well as grain.

The value of birds in the biological control of insect and rodent pests is now given greater recognition. A popular pamphlet describing 26 common species classes only two—house sparrow and yellow-breasted bunting—as harmful. There is also a programme to increase the numbers of "beneficial" birds (for example, redstart, woodpecker, thrush, starling) through the provision of nest boxes, especially in forests in north and north-east China.

There is also a less utilitarian side to consider. Delight in the song and plumage of birds has deep roots in popular tradition and birds provide some of the commonest decorative and literary motifs: the long-legged crane (usually the rare *grus japonensis*) as a symbol of longevity, the mandarin duck as an image of conjugal fidelity, and throughout the centuries the sight and call of the wild geese has brought tears to the traveller reminded of distant friends and relatives who may have seen the same bird in flight.

One of the loveliest of Chinese legends tells of the spinning girl and the cowherd who meet only once a year when, if the morning is clear on the seventh day of the seventh lunar month, magpies form a bridge to

let them cross the Heavenly River (the Milky Way).

However, birds are less a part of daily life than they used to be. The songbird markets have almost disappeared, probably because apicultural pleasures were seen to be incompatible with the ethics of socialist construction.

Nevertheless, in a few places one can occasionally see songbirds such as the *white wagtail* (a thrush with a white eye-splotch being taken by their owners for a "walk" to visit with other cage-birds in parks or restaurants).

Birds also retain a place in revolutionary imagery. A poem by Ch'en Yi, the late Foreign Minister, about colonialism in Africa concluded with the line: "Eagles and kingfishers regain their forest home."

October 28 marks the centenary of the death of one of the best British field naturalists in China, Robert Swinhoe (1836-77), who produced a steady flow of papers from his 20 years in China and who gave the first modern scientific descriptions of about 31 species and 101 subspecies of Chinese birds. He was proposed as a Fellow of the Royal Society by Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace, another great nineteenth century biologist, paid warm tribute to the value of his work in Taiwan.

China now has its own naturalists engaged in the task of building up a comprehensive picture of wild life. There are still remote areas which need to be properly surveyed and the earlier work of people like Swinhoe is mostly confined to the coastal areas of China and trading centres on the main waterways. The fruits of much recent Chinese ornithological research are contained in a splendid *Distributional List of Chinese Birds* (revised edition) by Dr Cheng Tsien, in which he recently became available abroad (copies from Guangzhou Bookshop, 9 Newport Place, London, price £2.48).

Much is added to the knowledge of species also found in Europe: since China is mostly in the Palaearctic region it has representatives of all but one (flamingoes) of the families of birds found in Europe.

By contrast, about 15 Chinese families—mostly Oriental—are not found in Europe (for example barbets, drongos, white-eyes, trogons, while many Palaearctic families are represented in China by a far greater variety of species (for example, babblers, starlings, flycatchers and pheasants).

For those fascinated by China or by birds, the publication of this book is a vivid reminder of the richness of China's avifauna and of the place which natural history has in present Chinese scientific research.

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With more foreign tourists visiting China than for many years, Peter Hopkirk looks at some of the cities open to foreigners as well as at ways of getting there and shopping around in Peking.

Guests from the West made welcome

More and more doors in China are opening to foreign visitors every year. At the latest count, 34 cities and towns are officially open to tourists. But for the earthquake which devastated Tangshan, closing it to visitors, the total would have been 35.

Several other cities, like Huhhot in Inner Mongolia, and Urumchi in the extreme west, are occasionally open to privileged visitors. Not long ago a party of ambassadors sailed through the Yangtze gorges, one of China's great beauty spots, while more recently three western reporters were allowed to visit Lhasa, the Tibetan capital.

Tibet, however, despite the misleading title of Miss Han Suyin's latest book—*Lhasa, the Open City*—is still firmly out of bounds to all but the most privileged. My own request, while in Peking to be allowed to visit Lhasa, argued on the title of this officially-approved book, was turned down firmly, as was my application to see how the revolution was changing the lives of people in Chinese Turkestan.

With China's great interior still closed to tourists almost all the cities on the tourist route are concentrated along the eastern and southern seaboard. Those travelling in groups (and that means most people) cannot pick and choose where they want to go.

Their itinerary will have been negotiated beforehand with the China Travel Service by their tour operator. The itineraries of those (few) travelling singly are dependent upon there being a seat on the aircraft or train and an empty bed in what is probably the only hotel.

One traveller's "top 10" is not necessarily everyone's, but the following cities and towns are rated highly by most people who have been there. Do not expect merely to be shown the beauty spots and works of art in any of these places but also communes, schools, factories and other institutions.

A visit to China is a study tour, like a holiday, but few people are disappointed, whenever their

opposite numbers in China or make visits to specialist institutions.

Seremissina has taken a group to China every year since 1974, and hope to offer a fifth such tour in 1978. The price of its 1977, 23-day tour (18 nights in China), which also took in Hongkong, was £1,195. With Lord Norwich as chairman, Seremissina caters especially for those with an interest, either personal or professional, in art and sends a guest lecturer with a specialized knowledge of some aspect of it with each party.

Thomas Cook, which began the last war had offices in several cities in China, has sent two groups there this year with a third leaving at the end of this month.

It hopes to arrange two further tours next year. The

return air fare is about £1,000, and these packages include almost everything while one is in China, they are not as expensive as they look.

Study China, the only one of the four to concentrate solely on China, hopes to arrange four groups, each of about 24 people, this coming year. Its last tour of four, in 1977 leaves later

in the month, spending 18 nights in China and one in Hongkong. The inclusive price is £950. Mr Cecil Kline, the managing director, whom I met in Peking recently with one of his tours, said he had been organizing such visits since 1972. The party leaving at the end of this month was his twelfth.

Study China expects those joining its tours to have a series of professional interest in some aspect of Chinese life, whether medical, or education, industry, or art history. Where possible the Chinese will try to arrange for those with special interests to meet their opposite numbers in China or make visits to specialist institutions.

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Kweilin, one of the country's most famous beauty spots, is now open to foreigners—but Huhehot, capital of Inner Mongolia, by invitation only

Legendary hills dominate unchanged landscape

by Peter Hopkirk

Whoever chose the seven wonders of the world had probably never been to Kweilin in southern China, or there might have been an eighth.

Created millions of years ago by a vast geological upheaval, and made legendary by the master painters and poets of the Tang and Sung dynasties, the landscape around Kweilin can only be described as astonishing.

As far as the eye can see in every direction there rise rank upon rank of weirdly misshapen hills. Some are tall and spindly, like giant thumbs. Others—and no two look alike—lean drunkenly to left and right, as they rise sheer, from the flat green plain surrounding them.

Many have picturesque names. There is Elephant Hill, Looking Around Hill, Hill-with-a-hole-through-it, Treasure Hoard Hill, Schoolboy Hill and Pagoda Hill, to name just a few. Ancient legends surround many of them, like that of the giant who appeared in a thunderclap and drove off a dragon with his sword.

Often they are completely covered with tiny trees and plants clinging tenaciously to near vertical rock surfaces. Because of the greenery, one Chinese poet described them as looking like "hairpins of jade".

The remarkable scenery around Kweilin (romanized to Guilin by the Chinese) has been eulogized by many travellers, both today and in the past, as the most beautiful in China. It is certainly one of the great beauty spots of the world, though few Westerners have ever seen it except through the Sung painters.

The best way to do so is to take a slow boat from Kweilin down the river Li. For some 50 miles this gently-moving waterway meanders between the peaks of this unique but often misty or cloud, so greenly does it enhance the beauty and drama of their landscape.

The heavy rain, moreover, has transformed the shallow water to the colour of jade.

For 1,000 or more Chinese artists, poets and travellers have been visiting Kweilin to see that legendary scene for themselves. Several were probably founded in the second century BC. It was then called Shihuan—"the beginning of peace".

During the Japanese war, Kweilin was a revolutionary stronghold. Printing houses and newspapers took refuge there and the population of the sleepy town rose rapidly.

In 1938 it was bombed by the Japanese, and again in 1942. In 1944 it was almost destroyed by the retreating Kuomintang troops as part of their scorched earth policy.

Today thousands of visitors, including many Chinese, are other way of getting there is by ship: a passenger ship calling at sea ports, in which case one can usually be had, or on a cruise ship, of which call is in ports.

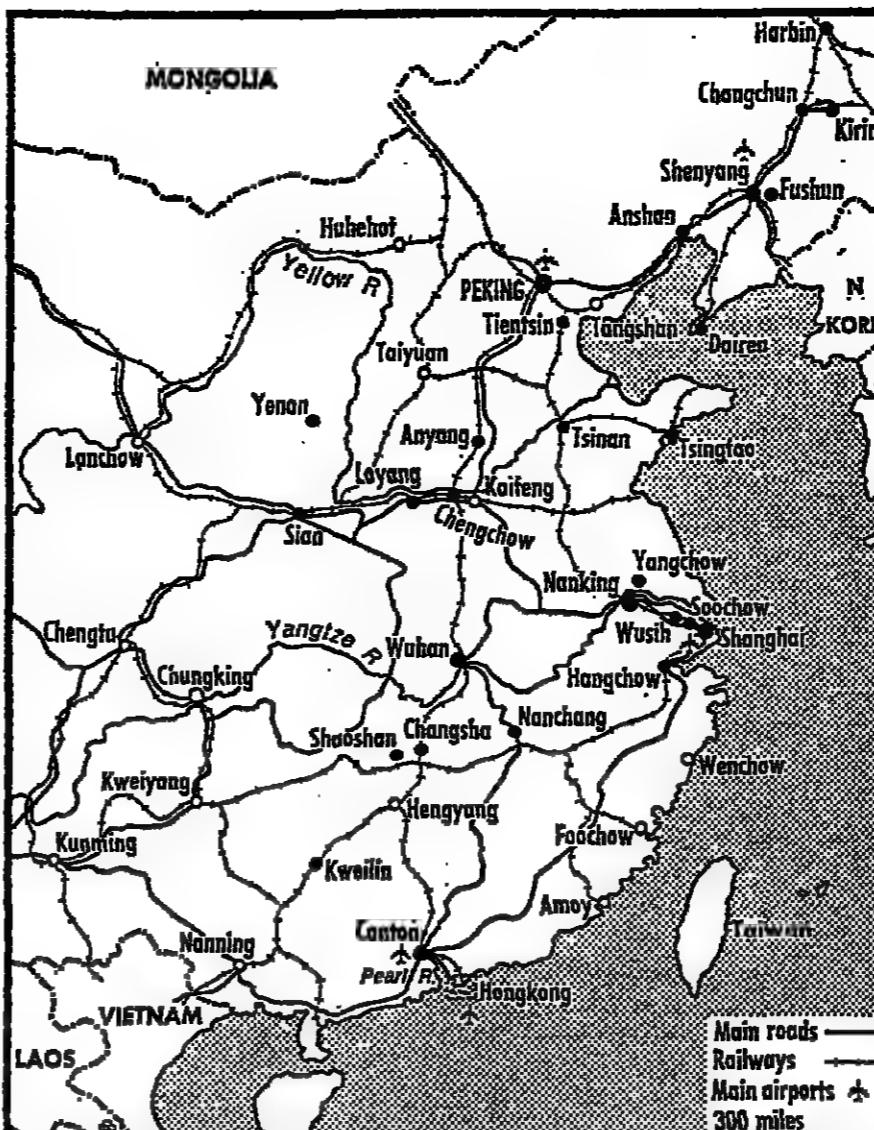
Wherever one turns one sees vignettes of Chinese rural life, making it a rich hunting ground for photographer and artist. It is an ecologist's dream.

However unpromising the weather, no one fortunate enough to visit Kweilin, one of the 34 cities and towns now open to tourists, should miss the river trip. The morning I went it was raining heavily and the sky was like lead. But once on the river I realized why Chinese gardeners often depict these mountains covered in mist or cloud, so greenly does it enhance the beauty and drama of their landscape.

The hills often have their secrets. Reaching deep into the heart of many of them are huge caves, only a few of which have been thoroughly explored. A number of those more easily reached, moreover, have been opened to visitors.

Amazing forests of stalactites and stalagmites reveal themselves under floodlighting. Some of the shapes, which have taken millions of years to form, look strangely like birds, animals and trees. One is assured that no sculptors have been used to help them along, though in some caves ancient Buddhist sculptures and inscriptions have been found.

China's main population centres, including many of the 34 cities and towns (marked with black dots) now open to tourists and other visitors.



A home for only the fittest

by Elizabeth Wright

In a world of increasingly obstructed horizons, that of Inner Mongolia seems to stretch to infinity. Situated in central north China it is reached, either by aircraft or after a leisurely, circumitous, 12-hour journey by train. The train passes the Great Wall, winds through the Great Horses Mountains, and grinds slowly north-west across the seemingly boundless steppes to Huhehot, capital of the Inner Mongolian autonomous region.

One of five autonomous regions (areas where large numbers of minority nationalities live), Inner Mongolia covers 450,000 sq km and shares a 1,200 km long border with Outer Mongolia, a Russian satellite. This proximity to China's great enemy is reflected in a spirit of vigilance, even greater than in other parts of China. Rifle-bearing militia patrol the border areas, mounted on sturdy ponies,

from whose galloping backs they shoot with deadly accuracy—worthy successors of Chengiz Khan.

Although only 300 miles north-west of Peking, Huhehot is of limited access to foreigners. It is a developing city, with innumerable new blocks of flats and factory buildings. The over-riding impression is similar to that of any other city in north China—dun-coloured buildings, clean streets, the omnipresent dust and a population dressed in green, blue, khaki.

But outside the city the world changes. A devastating drought in the winter and spring of 1976-77 inhibited agriculture to such an extent that wheat sown in March had not appeared above the mechanically ploughed and drilled soil by May. And from the trees the landscape only occasionally punctuated by signs of habitation, looked the natural enemy of all living things.

The Mongols are easily the last-used of crucial techniques have been adopted by signs of habitation.

The Mongols are easily the last-used of crucial techniques have been adopted by signs of habitation. The former have deep snow, and also for their wool. Some brick houses have been built for those engaged in administration of the communes as well as for the old people and young children to live in during the freezing winter months.

Life chez fellow Mongols across the border they are an independent race. They laugh readily, and burst into song as the slightest excuse. And a song or a joke, or a compliment always provides a good reason for downing yet another cup of koumiss (fermented mare's milk)—the only alcohol drink that I have ever found so revolting as to be almost undrinkable.

Formerly a nomadic people, the Mongols have now mostly been settled in pastoral communes. Here they tend their horses, cows, sheep and Bactrian camels.

The Mongols are easily the last-used of crucial techniques have been adopted by signs of habitation.

France, Canada, and Britain have been crossed with tough local breeds to produce better quality meat and wool.

In the area around Suihua, where Mongols number 100,000, national costume is still worn, although costly, and less "exotic" than the Chinese "bliss".

And Mongol is spoken almost exclusively. Our conversations had to be translated from Chinese into Mongol, and back again.

In the urban and commu-

factories. However, the over-

riding impression is that there is more written Chinese than Mongol. That is hardly surprising, perhaps, when Chinese outnumber Mongols by 16 to one.

The central Government

has often been accused of "sinifying" the minority national areas of China, and it is undeniable that a great number of Han Chinese have been moved into the area. It is also true that Inner Mongolia has been "colonized", with the arrival of Han and western communities lopped off to form parts of those provinces which abut the autonomous region.

But on the credit side,

As one watches a herds-

man lasso an animal with the traditional lasso-pole, time

seems to have stood still for

the herdsman are nomadic, moving their flocks and the communal livestock from grazing ground to grazing ground.

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CLOSED SHOP: CLOSED RANKS

In the critical debate on trade unions and the closed shop, the Conservative conference demonstrated once again yesterday the party's instinct for power. There can be little doubt that a majority of the conference would have liked to call for a ban on the closed shop. The most spontaneous applause was attracted by attacks on its evils, the infringements of human dignity it can bring about, and the injustices it perpetrates. But the conference was alive to the dangers of pursuing a policy that might be interpreted as an open challenge to the unions and thereby stoke up the electorate's fears that a Conservative government would bring a return to the days of conflict. There was also the fear of committing a future Conservative administration to a line that could not be enforced. To the debate ended with Mr Prior free to continue on a more moderate course than his critics would wish.

This was achieved partly by a characteristically adroit exercise in conference management. There was no way in which the conference could have voted for a harder line than Mr Prior offered. He blandly assumed that the somewhat imprecise worded motion calling for a change in the law was in keeping with his own policy, even though that seeks a negotiated code of practice to govern the production and operation of the closed shop and would turn to be law only as a last resort.

One should be a little cautious herefore in claiming that Mr

Prior's approach has been specifically endorsed by the conference. But he received a standing ovation from most representatives; there was no conflict, or embarrassing difference of emphasis, between his speech and Sir Keith Joseph's earlier in the day; and Mr Prior may fairly claim to have emerged successfully from the challenge of this debate.

In

terms of electoral politics that is a good outcome for the party. The Shadow cabinet have managed to present a united front to the country and to avoid upsetting the unions. The Conservatives have appeared as a party opposed in principle to the closed shop but determined to move cautiously in dealing with it, bearing in mind the experience of the Heath administration in passing industrial relations legislation that then proved ineffective in practice.

This wary disapproval may well be quite an accurate reflection of public opinion today, disliking the excesses of union power yet hesitating to confront it. But to say this is to beg the critical question: Would this approach be effective in coping with the abuse concerned? It is nothing to do with government, said one speaker, how unions and employers sort out their affairs. But that is not strictly true. The more matters that can be settled amicably and constructively between unions and employers the better it will be. In this as in other fields it is a good principle that so far as possible the people with direct responsibility should

take the decisions. But no government should divest itself of responsibility for protecting individuals against great injustice. The closed shop can and does in certain circumstances involve considerable injustice against individuals. It may deprive them of their very livelihood. So the question to be asked of Conservative policy in this field is whether, politically circumspect as it may be, it is also adequate for the protection of personal liberties.

The danger with any code of practice is that it may come to establish what is supposed to be a safeguard. In one significant respect, however, Mr Prior yesterday strengthened the terms of the proposed code. In the policy document published this week, *The Right Approach to the Economy*, it was stated that

one of the provisions that would

have to be included in the code

would be that a closed shop

agreement should be made only

with the consent of a majority

of all the work people involved.

Yesterday Mr Prior declared that

"only if a massive majority vote

in favour will negotiations proceed".

That is a distinct improvement.

At the least there should be more

than a simple majority before

such a limitation on the right to

work can be introduced. It is

reasonable that the Conservatism

as a party expecting to

form the next government,

should be concerned that their

proposals should be practical,

but they must also be effective.

I do not wish, for my part, to

suggest that government has been

wrong in keeping up the supply of

benefits to "no go" areas. But it is

interesting to ask how many other

countries would have been at such

pains to do so. Would the USA? Or

Sweden? Or all the other members

of the EEC? Probably some would

have done so. In others government

might have taken the line that benefits

would not go where the police

could not go.

What we know for certain is that

the Russian Government would not

have behaved as we have done. It is

inconceivable that the Kremlin

would allow "no go" areas to

continue in existence when these

could be quickly subdued by a suffi-

ciently brutal use of force. It would

be quite absurd to suppose that such

areas would not only be allowed to

exist but would be supplied with

welfare benefits, year after year.

Bullets, not benefits, is the Soviet

response to armed revolt. Of course

this has not prevented the Com-

munist in Russia and elsewhere

from expressing their horror at the

allegedly repressive measures adop-

ted by Britain in Ulster.

In the international discussion of

human rights, Ulster is usually felt

to be Britain's point of weakness. A

somewhat different assessment

might be made if we were to take

greater pains to present a balanced

account of the situation and of what

we have been trying to do. For

what is really remarkable is the way

in which Britain has sought to re-

spect human rights even in circum-

stances of the greatest difficulty.

Yours faithfully,

T. WILSON,
Professor of Political Economy,
University of Glasgow,
Glasgow.

October 8.

If that is the spirit in which

the new appointments commis-

sion is going to work the Church

of England is in for a lively time.

And a troubled time: for its

position as the Established

church, its social organization

and its comprehensive character

set fairly close limits to the pur-

suit of a policy of stirring things

up in the secular domain.

It is imperative that Antarctica

does not become a free-for-all. It

is not just a question of who gets

the krill and the oil, but of the

activities in exploiting those

resources which might harm,

perhaps irretrievably, the

continent's ecosystem. The con-

sequences of that could be

profound and irreversible. The

world's climate, and hence its

food supply, could be affected.

The loss of the valuable and

varied scientific information now

being obtained in the region

could equally have adverse

practical effects. It is essential

that an internationally acceptable

regime be set up to regulate all

exploitative activities in the

Antarctic. The issue is far

more than regional significance.

It is imperative that Antarctica

not easily be able to resist

asserting jurisdiction over it.

There is the danger, too, that

countries not subject to the

existing Antarctic Treaty

arrangements, and hitherto

uninterested in that part of the

world, may start looking to it

with less than scrupulous con-

cern for its environmental purity.

The third world, too, is becoming

interested in ensuring that it gets

a share of any tangible benefits

which may come about.

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TAX GUIDE
1977/78Borrowing need
still leaves
room for £1,000m
autumn boostBy David Blake
Economics Correspondent

The Government moved substantially into deficit in September, but the figures are still running well below the forecasts made at the time of the Budget. They point to room for tax cuts and other measures costing at least £1,000m without breaking the International Monetary Fund guidelines.

The September deficit of £54m for the central Government was in large measure a reflection of £45m of tax rebates paid as a result of conditional tax changes in the Budget.

It is significantly lower than the £87m deficit of September, 1976. Taken together with previous months when the Government has actually been in surplus it brings the total central Government borrowing requirement for the first six months of the year to £2,059m, compared with a Budget forecast for the year as a whole of £2,474m.

Lower revenues and other factors are likely to prevent the central Government's borrowing needs from being as full £1,700m below the estimate that the latest figures would imply on the basis of simple extrapolation.

There thus has to be considerable caution about assuming that total public borrowing for this year will be as much as £1,700m below the £3,500m forecast at Budget time.

None the less, it is clear that the public sector deficit will be considerably below the Budget forecast with a shortfall of at least £1,000m probable.

In some ways there is less uncertainty than there was last autumn when public borrowing also turned out to be considerably lower than the Treasury forecast. This is because it was then feared that local authorities had been using the short-term money markets to postpone longer-term borrowing which would later form part of the total public deficit.

Under a voluntary agreement between central and local government, this cannot happen this year.

Both expenditure and revenue are running more favourably for the Government than was expected when the Budget projections were drawn up. Total expenditure so far from the Consolidated Fund is running 9 per cent above the level in the same period in 1976, compared with the 10 per cent forecast.

Revenue has performed even better. If the windfall bonus of the sales of BP stock is excluded, it is running 16 per

BUDGET DEFICIT
 (£ million)

	Deficit from central govern- ment burses
1976	2,351 3,223 -486 5,067
1977	2,177 2,707 18 5,823
76-77	940 3,524 -500 5,264

cent above the 1976 level, compared with a 12 per cent increase projected in the Budget.

The Consolidated Fund expenditure dominates the accounts of central government as a whole, since it accounts for well over 80 per cent of total spending. But this year it has also been helped by repayment by nationalized industries and other bodies who draw their money through the National Loans Fund.

There was a net repayment of £35m to the National Loans Fund in September by nationalized industries and local authorities.

The fact that public sector borrowing has been running so far below original forecasts explains, to some extent, two of the most striking features of the economy during the past six months.

Although foreign money has been flooding in, money supply has remained comfortably at the lower end of the 9 to 13 per cent money supply target because the Government's contribution to the creation of domestic credit has been much smaller than expected.

The economy has also shown much lower output than expected. This may owe something to the effects on demand of the small fiscal deficit the Government has been running.

Tax cuts to be announced in November will push the total borrowing requirement up towards the 25,000 figure again, though the Chancellor has promised not to breach the £2,700m ceiling.

Substantial
growth in
money stock
indicatedBy John Whitmore
Finance Correspondent

After the negligible growth in the money supply in the banking months in mid-August, growth in the five weeks to mid-September has probably been substantial.

This at least is the indication provided by the latest figures for the banking system's eligible liabilities—essentially its sterling deposits. These grew by 2.9 per cent to £28,795m during the month.

A fairly sharp increase in money supply in September would not come as a total surprise.

The authorities made it clear at the time that the August result was exceptional, reflecting a central government surplus and a high level of gilt sales. Since then the Government has moved back into deficit and gilt sales have dropped off, though remaining extremely high by historic standards.

At the same time, more detailed figures from the London clearing banks suggest that inflows from overseas may have played a major part in a large increase in United Kingdom residents' sterling deposits in the first month. These rose by £205m, largely in current account terms.

The banks feel that this may reflect reverse lending and lagging by British companies, speeding remittances from overseas on fears that sterling might rise—and, for similar reasons, larger sterling deposits being held by British-based multinationals. There was probably also some benefit from the tax rebates towards the end of August.

On the other hand, private sector loan demand has probably played a smaller part in money supply growth than in recent months. Private sector lending by the clearers fell by £78m in nominal terms, while the underlying rate of increase probably dropped from the £150m-plus of recent weeks to between £50m and £100m.

This may reflect some small loss of market share by the clearers to overseas banks that have lowered their lending rates more sharply. But it also seems that loan demand from industry has moved to despatch after the preliminary stock-building seen earlier this year.

Management do not share the view of some people that the mass of normally quiescent workers make their views known to senior stewards before Tuesday's crucial meeting.

If agreement is reached, manual workers will receive a 10 per cent wage increase from next month in addition special parity payments costing £50m a year will be phased in over the next two years.

And starting in January employees will also qualify for self-financing bonus payments.

In the meantime the Leyland T&GWU agreed to fall into line with other unions and accept the controversial issue of group wide wage bargaining. The next seven days will be crucial. Tomorrow the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions meeting at York is expected to approve the bargaining reforms which were modified as a result of last Friday's negotiations between management and leading Workers' Union.

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Dollar devaluation 'no solution' for US deficit

From Frank Vogl
United States Economics Correspondent
Washington, Oct 11

Top American Administration officials and several leading private economists predicted today that the balance of payments deficit might be higher in 1978 than this year's record total.

They gave a warning, however, that the solution to the nation's payments problems did not rest in a depreciation of the exchange rate of the dollar.

Dr Lawrence Krause, of the Brookings Institution, however, disagreed. He told a congressional committee that some correction in the "over-valuation" of the dollar would be helpful.

He said some people feared that a decline in the value of the dollar would signal a loss of confidence in the United States, but "such a fear is totally misplaced".

The experts and officials appearing before the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress today all said that protectionism was rising throughout the world.

Dr William Nordhaus, a member of

President Carter's Council of Economic Advisors, reflected the widely shared view on this matter. "Depressed economic conditions", he said, "are fueling the fires of protectionism everywhere."

Increased American protectionism would invite retaliation, promote higher international inflation and inevitably result in increased unemployment.

Mr Anthony Solomon, the Treasury Under-Secretary for Monetary Affairs, predicted that both the trade and current account payments deficits in 1978 might be higher than the 1977 totals, which respectively might amount to \$30,000m (about £16,477m) and \$18,000m.

He said the dollar remained strong in terms of all foreign currencies taken together, and that it would continue to remain strong.

People abroad had confidence in the stability of the American economic and political situation, and in this context he pointed out: "Our economy is growing. In two years—1976 and 1977—the increase in our market will be

greater than the equivalent of the entire economy of Britain."

Mr Solomon told the committee that to reduce the payments deficits the United States must continue to strengthen the domestic economy, strengthen the competitiveness of export industries, limit exchange market intervention to the countering of disorderly conditions and "above all deal effectively with our energy problem".

He also said the United States must continue to urge countries with payment surpluses to expand their economies more rapidly.

On this point Congressman Henry Reuss, the committee's chairman, suggested that the Administration and the International Monetary Fund should do more to ensure that Japan allowed the yen to rise to a realistic level.

Mr Robert Shilton, a vice-president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, told the committee that the United States should continue to press Japan to dismantle its diverse arrangements which control international capital movements.

He said: "We suspect that these controls have worked to depress the value of the yen."

Dr Krause argued that such countries as Britain and Italy should be willing to hold more German marks, rather than dollars, in their reserves, and that by aggressively discouraging countries from doing this the Germans were "shirking an important responsibility".

Congressman Reuss was exceptionally critical of the Administration for failing to do more to press the Japanese to allow the yen to appreciate strongly and for failing to press Japan to refrain from exchange market manipulation.

He added that the failure of Japan to accept more imports, and to allow the yen to float upward was now "turning the American labour movement into raving protectionism".

"I am concerned about our continued effort to keep this problem under the sofa. We are plenty gutsy in imposing import quotas, but so terribly timid on the whole on exchange market manipulation."

CBI urges delay of mini-Budget

By Malcolm Brown
Industrial leaders are to ask the Chancellor next week to put off any mini-Budget until at least December.

Senior officials of the confederation, who will be meeting Mr. Helmut Schmidt on October 19, are to tell him it would be unwise to stimulate the economy until it becomes much clearer which direction the trend in wage settlements is taking. The CBI believes this will not be evident until Christmas.

They will also tell the Chancellor that if he decides he must give some stimulation it should be by direct tax cuts, not a reduction in value added tax, and should preferably be in the form of a promise to be implemented in April.

Employers' leaders will also ask Mr. Healey to consider some help for small companies and for concerns in the construction industry.

Latest results from the CBI's data bank indicate that the trend in pay settlements is slightly better than might have been expected. "But it is still very much touch and go", an official said.

At the end of the first 10 weeks since the finish of phase two, 493 claims covering 3,500,000 employees had been recorded and there were 167 settlements covering 600,000 employees. Nearly all settlements were within the Government's 10 per cent guideline and the few which were outside covered perhaps 2 to 3 per cent of the 600,000.

About one third of claims recorded would increase employment costs by over 30 per cent and the great majority were for more than 20 per cent.

Du Pont's £29m rubber plant in N Ireland will mean fewer jobs

By Robert Rodwell

Du Pont's decision, announced simultaneously in New York and Belfast yesterday, to invest £29m on a new synthetic rubber plant in Northern Ireland is not quite the economic boom to the province that it initially appeared to be.

The new plant, on du Pont's £60m Maydown site at Londonderry, will in fact represent a permanent loss of between 800 and 1,000 jobs when it becomes operational in 1980, after a short-term gain during the construction phase, which will start.

Du Pont executives in Northern Ireland preferred not to be used after Mr. Jeffrey Agate, the company's former regional director at Londonderry, was assassinated by the Provisional IRA last February.

They and Mr. Concannon, the Northern Ireland Minister of State, made it clear in Stormont yesterday that failure to replace the company's existing neoprene synthetic rubber plant

with an entirely new process based on cheaper feedstock would result in closure of the entire plant and the loss of at least 450 jobs.

Neoprene production at Maydown is now based on inexpensive acetylene produced at a neighbouring British Oxygen plant established purely for the purpose and employing nearly 250.

The new process will use butadiene feedstock imported from as yet unselected oil refineries in Britain or Europe.

Butadiene is considerably cheaper and is now the raw material of most synthetic rubber plants elsewhere.

When the new Maydown plant comes on stream in mid-1980 there will be scarcely any butadiene produced and the plant's 800 Du Pont personnel will become redundant and will be closed.

Du Pont's neoprene plant shares the same site, maintenance force and fixed overheads with three other processes,

employing Orion synthetic fibre, Hybrane organic isocyanate and for liquid and latex elastane fibre, and together the du Pont complex employs more than 2,000 people.

Du Pont managers made it clear yesterday that smooth labour and government relations in Northern Ireland persuaded the parent company to replace the uncompetitive Maydown plant.

Local executives, however, seemed confident that the decision would be in favour of retaining the Maydown plant, which is modern and entirely competitive.

A crucial factor is likely to be the 30 per cent industrial electricity tariff cut in Northern Ireland brought about by government subsidy a few weeks ago.

Mr. Concannon said the power price cut brings costs down to prevailing British levels and had been a key factor at the end of about three years of discussions between Stormont ministers, officials and senior du Pont executives.

Phillips Petroleum group makes oil find north-east of Shetland Islands

By Roger Vievoe

An exploration group led by Phillips Petroleum has made an oil discovery more than 110 miles north east of the Shetland Islands.

The well on block 210/15, in

deep and difficult waters on the edge of the continental shelf, is due east of British Petroleum's Magnus field—the most northerly commercial oil

field in the North Sea. A statement on the drilling is expected from Phillips later this week.

If further drilling on the block proves successful, it would boost the hopes for building a spur pipeline into the main Nornen line into the Shetlands.

British Petroleum is evaluating whether production from Magnus alone would warrant a spur line into the Nornen pipeline to absorb some of its spare

capacity. The alternative would be direct loading into tankers. There is also discussion within the company whether a steel or concrete platform should be used for Magnus. BP hopes to reach a decision and gain government approval for its plan by the end of the year.

On block 210/15, Phillips is the operator for a consortium that includes Agip, Fina, Centaur Power & Light, Ultramar, and British Electric Traction.

The first priority was to go all out for new orders for merchant ships.

Unaudited results for the 36 weeks ended 11th September 1977

	36 weeks	36 weeks	Year
Sales	1977	1976	1976
UK companies	20,000	20,000	20,000
Overseas companies	80,632	83,915	103,568
Share of overseas associates	46,978	43,887	65,364
	2,459	2,224	4,427
130,068	110,026	173,359	
Trading profit:			
UK companies	3,584	2,477	4,983
Overseas companies	2,724	3,840	5,311
	6,308	6,317	10,294
Interest payable and other items	1,028	454	125
Profit before tax	5,280	5,863	10,169
Estimated taxation	3,028	3,311	4,688
Profit after tax	2,251	2,552	5,271
Minority interests	322	413	810
Profit attributable to ABM	1,929	2,139	4,461
Earnings per Ordinary Share	4.2p	4.7p	10.2p
	1977	1976	
Interim dividend on Ordinary and A Ordinary Shares payable on 31.7.8	7.5%	6.5%	
Cost	£834,000	£558,000	

Note: The results of the overseas operations for the 36 weeks ended 11th September 1977 have been expressed in sterling at the rates of exchange approximating to those ruling at 11th September 1977.

Group Results

The results for the first 36 weeks of 1977 reflect the difficult

trading conditions encountered in several areas. Sales are up by 18% to £130 million. Pre-tax profits are down from £5,863,000

to £5,280,000.

United Kingdom Company

The principal reason for better profit figures in the UK is a much improved performance by Huntley & Stevens. In the Biscuit and Confectionery Divisions the increased UK turnover represents price rather than volume; exports show a 42% increase.

Overseas Companies

Results from Canada are disappointing due entirely to the

David Company in Montreal which has experienced lower sales volume and reduced margins.

Our French subsidiary met problems arising from its programme of new investment. Sales were good but efficiency was temporarily affected.

The "Indienisation" of Britannia Biscuit Co. has been delayed, but should be completed early in 1978 when our holding will be brought below 40%.

Outlook

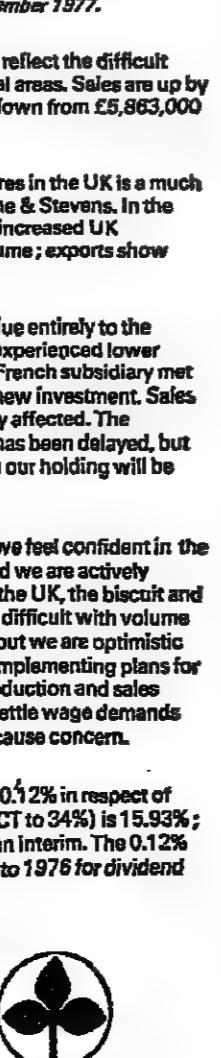
Despite disappointing overseas figures, we feel confident in the future of all our international interests and we are actively

planning to develop further overseas. In the UK, the biscuit and confectionery trades may continue to be difficult with volume increases only available at low margins, but we are optimistic about certain new products and we are implementing plans for improving cost-effectiveness in both production and sales areas. Nevertheless, the requirement to settle wage demands within the government guidelines must cause concern.

Dividend

The permitted 1977 dividend (including 0.52% in respect of 1976 payable following the change in ACT to 34%) is 15.93%; of this total 7.50% has been declared as an interim. The 0.12% payable in respect of 1976 will be added to 1976 for dividend control calculations.

The Associated Biscuit Manufacturers Limited



Building societies to discuss Abbey line on investment

By Margaret Scorne

Building society leaders meet tomorrow to discuss the action of the Abbey National Building Society which last week announced that it was breaking away from the Building Societies Association's rate structure by refusing to lower its savers rates to reflect the savings of the members.

At the moment no other large building society has come out in support of the Abbey line, but significantly it seems that all of the chief executives who are attending tomorrow's meeting have been given an open vote by their board.

In other words, if the general opinion swings in the Abbey's favour, then it could be that all BSA members will be recommended to follow Abbey's lead.

There is a lot of sympathy within the movement for Abbey's desire to look after the saver whose interests have usually been sacrificed in favour of the borrowers.

There is little doubt that at the present time it would be auspicious to reward investors.

Building societies have made handsome gains out of the gilt-edged market and the cut in basic rate tax has helped the composite rate of tax societies pay off behalf of investors.

This means that for the first time in five years building societies are in a position to add to their reserves or, as the case maybe, can ignore their operating margins, temporarily.

On present form the Abbey will be chided and the free vote given to those attending the council meeting means that the issue is still open.

The other argument which is likely to be employed is that if all the societies do widen the margins between the investment and mortgage rate, the benefit of the increased spread

could be given to the borrower in its fight against inflation.

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BY THE FINANCIAL EDITOR

A marathon session on Ariel's future role

Its weaker share price has reflected this poorer performance though of late it has been given some purely speculative strength on the basis of Rowntree Mackintosh's 21 per cent stake. This makes them a stronger hold than they might otherwise be at 78p

Ariel is not a favourite topic among merchant bankers at the moment. The Board is faced with the computerized dealing system set up five years ago to challenge the Stock Exchange's monopoly recently asked its shareholders: the 17 Accepting Houses, which would subordinate their loans to Ariel to creditors. In fact, Ariel's chairman, Charles Clay, assures me there is nothing unusual in this. It was simply a question of putting into legal terms something which had always existed in effect, since the City's leading merchant banks were hardly likely to cease supporting a protégé like Ariel. Nevertheless, the merchant banks, while sympathetic with Ariel's request, are cautious when it comes to making changes like this even if they do represent a tidy exercise. Moreover, since it became widely known that that negotiations were taking place with The Stock Exchange to whether there was a basis for selling Ariel they have been naturally concerned about the future role of their computerized market place.

It is not that Ariel has not already performed a useful purpose, nor that it does not have a role to play. It is after all a valuable weapon for the Accepting Houses when it comes to talking about participation in the proposed new Council for the Securities Industry, a sort of self-regulatory version of the Stock Exchange.

Options are only subject to the SEC, which the Governor of the Bank of England is in fact doing. Mr. Gordon Richardson is

any gains realized by the Stock Exchange to agree to a compromise

options are treated as a

individual concerned

information system or even as the basis for a new over-the-counter market.

For once, however, The Stock Exchange is not taking up the baton. It is not, as it was some five years ago when it cut

Overseas inflows are presumed to be affecting deposit growth, but not necessarily in any regular pattern. Similarly, the underlying trend in private sector loan demand may have weakened somewhat, perhaps reflecting de-stocking, but that, too, is a trend that could change fairly fast.

Swan Hunter
Unresolved questions

Preliminary results from Swan Hunter for the 18 months to June 30 are about as unhelpful as they could possibly be.

Subsidiaries which have been nationalized have contributed a dividend payment only while trading profits have been included from continuing activities and the 1975 activities have been adjusted accordingly.

The effect of this is to translate a £1.9m loss from the marine and engineering division in 1975 into a profit of £363,000 in the comparative figures with the latest results. In the 18 month total this figure has grown to a trading profit of £64,000. Apparently, the division was profitable during this period but what proportion of dividends is from nationalization candidates and what proportion is trading profits from retained companies is not explained.

Thus the total pre-tax profit figure of £7.3m against the £5.7m figure for the previous 12 months (compared with £5.1m made up in a very different way in the 1975 accounts) is almost totally meaningless.

At December 1975 there were substantial loans outstanding from the group to the nationalization candidates including £5m to the shipbuilding subsidiaries, which should have been repaid on vesting day. Whatever arrangements were made, it appears that Swan currently has more than £20m in cash before any receipts from the nationalization compensation.

This is equivalent to more than £1 per share, which compares with a share price of 145p down 5p yesterday. Nationalization compensation must be added on top.

Outsider estimates of likely compensation vary from £5m to £14m. The lower figure is equal to 27p a share, so given a reasonable compromise the 145p share price looks about right. But all eyes will be on the annual report, which should give much more information to shareholders and hopefully say what Swan intends to do with its cash.

The scientists and administrators who oversee the space

programme have decided, in collaboration with their political masters, that the space

effort must take a new direction: the prestige-seeking and emotional drive of the early

years will give way in the '80s and '90s to a more commercially-oriented use of space.

Space flight is coming down to Earth. Next door to Dryden at the United States Air Force test base Major-General Tom Stafford, the commander of Apollo 10 and Apollo Soyuz who now heads a test programme for some of the fastest military aircraft on Earth, has already read the signs.

"The explorers of space have gone and the pioneers have arrived," says Stafford in his now-famous speech, summing up the transformation for the space programme.

Those who mapped out the boundaries have now done their job: the space programme from now till the end of the century will be about testing out the new territories which have been discovered, seeing what practical benefits they will produce for man.

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The orbiter has a tremendous payload capacity of up to 60,000lb in low earth orbit. These two factors, reusability and flight payload capacity—it is estimated that 1 cu ft of space on each flight will rent out at around \$3,000—mean that capital and flight costs can be amortized over a large number of missions, which makes the whole project commercially viable.

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FINANCIAL NEWS AND MARKET REPORTS

Mr Berni in series of Grand Met share sales

By Alison Mitchell

Despite difficult trading conditions in the first half of this year Senior Engineering increased pre-tax profits by almost a fifth to £2.6m on turnover up from £20.7m to £26m.

The continuing recession in the United Kingdom and the low demand for steel products throughout the world has hit most companies in this sector.

And the chairman of Senior, Professor Roland Smith, admits that this has resulted in an erosion of profit margins in some areas of the business.

Overall group pre-tax margins tightened from 0.6 to 1.0 per cent in the period.

The short-term outlook continues to be difficult, he says, but Senior will be concentrating its efforts on improving the efficiency and profits of the manufacturing units.



Professor Roland Smith, chairman of Senior Engineering.

In the six months, interest charges increased from £64,000 to £82,000 pointing to increased

borrowing. However this money was used to finance cash flow rather than any specific investment schemes and Mr Donald MacFarlane, finance director, discloses that it is not a trend likely to continue.

Although all four divisions contributed to the group profits, the larger percentage of the upturn came from the air handling and plastics side.

The directors are to pay a stepped up interim dividend of 0.85p, against a previous 0.80p and anticipate a maximum permissible final of 0.88p giving shareholders an annual total of 1.76p.

Earlier this year the group was approached by an agent acting for an overseas company with regard to a possible bid. However this has now fallen through, with no offer being made. Senior shares closed 1p higher yesterday at 25.1p.

Collett Dickenson bubbles in first half

By Michael Clark

The additional business being generated by clients at Collett, Dickenson, Pearce International, the advertising agent, has resulted in a 74 per cent increase in pre-tax profits to £543,000 in the six months to June 30. The directors declare an interim dividend of 2.3p gross against 2.1p.

Collett's main London company has achieved substantial growth in 1977 with additional business being whizzed up by both existing and new clients.

Some of the new names now being handled by Collett include Fiat, omega's Le Ina and Celebration cream sherriffs and

Metropolitan. Further business has come from existing clients such as Lava, Colgate, Soups from Heinz and Rowlings Mixers from Whitbread.

Meanwhile expansion in the London company's business has meant that the United Kingdom operation has outgrown its accommodation. As a result, the group will be moving into its newly acquired offices in Euston Road later this month.

This will mean higher running costs which will include the overheads of the Holway Street offices. These costs will be reflected in the second half of the year.

In 1976 pre-tax profits of Collett, Dickenson were up from £652,000 to £826,000 and turnover was up from £24.7m to £28.91m.

In the meantime the pattern of business continues to change with a steady levelling out across the year. It is therefore expected that while the overall group will show a steady profit growth for 1977, it will not fully reflect the growth shown for the first half, though trading still remains good.

The directors consider that it will be necessary to include an extraordinary item of £600,000 in the accounts for the year to cover expected expenses under the Tax Act, arising from payments to overseas subsidiaries before December 31, 1974.

COPPER was low, while silver was steady. Tin was a minor factor in the first half, while lead, zinc and cadmium were up.

Gold was steady. Nickel was up, while copper sulphide was down.

Aluminium was steady, while

alumina was up. Zinc was up, while copper sulphide was down.

Lead was steady, while tin was up, while zinc and cadmium were down.

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Stepping Stones—Non-Secretarial—Secretarial & General—Tempting Times

SECRETARIAL

£3,000 IN MARKETING

Career in Marketing ?? Then use your secretarial skills to work for the Marketing Services manager of a large newspaper group of companies. Duties will include secretarial and administration leading to involvement on the marketing side. Interested ??

PHONE JANICE SHARMAN
01-437 5811

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FIRST STEP UP

Large successful pharmaceutical company situated a few minutes from the city require a young person seeking a rewarding career in the administrative secretarial field. Responsibilities will include secretarial duties for the medical advisor, liaison with doctors and administration, re clinical trials. In return you will receive a starting salary of around £3,000.

Phone for immediate interview,
JANICE SHARMAN
01-437 5811

GA

SECRETARIAL

DIRECTOR

of small, friendly university Institute in Bloomsbury needs a cheerful, competent Secretary to deal with his correspondence and personal correspondence, arrange meetings and hold the fort in his absence. Plenty of contact with staff and students.

We are looking for someone who will be keen to learn when things get hectic. Good typing essential, shorthand useful, 4 weeks' holiday plus extra days at Christmas and Easter. Superannuation scheme. Salary negotiable, main range £2,200-£3,000 or £2,750-£3,300.

Phone Susan Penner, School of Slavonic Studies, 637 4234.

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Secretary/Assistant MARKETING

The Head of Subscription Administration and Marketing Planning of a Committee of Association needs a Secretary/Assistant with the confidence and responsibility to handle a variety of important departmental activities.

On the 'subscription' side of the operation you'll be dealing with member complaints, organising meetings and liaising with other sections of the Committee in the Marketing Analysis and Statistics Office, keeping the membership records straight, recording income from subscriptions and keeping an eye to member advertising arrangements.

It goes without saying that you'll need to be good at typing and a command of the telephone, with an even more important ability to express yourself fluently with the spoken and written word.

It's a lot of the work you'll be typing, but figures are not your forte, even though electronic calculators and skilled supervisors are on hand to help you with your sums! Finally, you'll be responsible for a wide range of correspondence, marketing and administrative tasks.

Salaries from £3,150 a year. Plus luncheon vouchers and Pension and Life Assurance benefits. Hours are 10.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m. with five weekly annual holiday.

Phone the Personnel Officer on 01-639 1222 for an application form. Consumers' Association, 14 Buckingham Street, London WC1N 6DS.

Royal Household

The Department of the Private Secretary to The Queen require a mature Secretary with good experience to work at Buckingham Palace. The successful candidate will be required to work in the Royal Household in the United Kingdom for short periods during the year.

The post is responsible and offers four weeks' paid holiday and a subsidised meal.

Salary commensurate with age starting at a maximum of £3,270 p.a. rising by six annual increments to £3,765 p.a.

Please reply in writing to:

Mr Peter Wright, Establishment Officer, Buckingham Palace, London, SW1A 1AA.

BELGRAVIA ART GALLERY

require well educated young, capable Secretary to assist with sales, handle correspondence and day-to-day admin. etc. Salary negotiable. Please ring 225 0010.

Interested in TV Communications?

Department Head of West End Co. needs presentable, capable Secretary to handle 10 priorities at once and work in a team environment.

£3,250 plus JAYCAR CAREERS 700 3148

NON-SECRETARIAL

MY BUSINESS IS PEOPLE

Jenny Bowden is 28 years of age and manages a successful business. With a staff of four, Jenny is the all-important "middleman" in providing a service to people who need expert assistance. Contact with people is the essential part of the job, her staff share in the responsibility and rewards of the business. They are involved and highly motivated. Jenny also assists the company with staff training at the training centre which is located in your home. We have a number of successful managers like Jenny Bowden, we would like to recruit two more. Ages 25-35. The rewards are high by way of salary and bonus. Location are South and Central London. In the first instance telephone Jenny Bowden, 671 2711 quoting Executive Vacancy. (Male or female.)

RECEPTIONIST

Mature person (40-60) for busy private health screening unit near Kings Cross. Hours 8.30 a.m.-4.30 p.m. Monday-Friday. Excellent benefits including subsidised lunch and BUPA. Knowledge of typing essential. Salary £2,700 per annum.

Please contact Mrs. Margaret Monaghan, 01-278 8887.

HAVE YOU A CERTAIN PANACHE?

£3,000 AT 18-35

Public Relations Company require a well educated, dynamic, enthusiastic Secretary for this Tip-Top position.

Please ring 486 3931

KEYSTONE AGENCY

RECEPTIONIST/TELEPHONE

£3,000 plus 80p day. L.V.s plus 10% commission for an articulate male or female. To work for U.K. office of a well known and established and plenty of overseas calls. Day, evening and weekend work. A half day's travel and BUPA. SSI Civil Employment Service.

CIRCULATION ASSISTANT

We are a large West End publishing company and are looking for a young Graduate around 21 years old to work in our circulation department. £2,400. Excellent holidays. For further details please ring JAN ANDERSON on 01-733 6710.

NEGOTIATOR: must be experienced enough to handle negotiations. Duties: exceptionally busy. Work with a wide range of high pressure work. Ability to converse at all levels. Good telephone and written skills. London essential. Excellent prospects. Apply to: Mrs. M. J. Maynard, Church Street, and Parsons, U1-3733 0821.

GRADUATE: must be able to type, good telephone and writing. Languages, art, history, etc.

Graduate, able to type own correspondence. W.C. 1. Apply: Mrs. S. E. Fisher, Bureau, 110 Strand, W.C. 2. £364.

MEET GALLERY: requires Girl Friday for general duties, evenings. Languages, art, history, etc.

Graduate, able to type own correspondence. W.C. 1. Apply: Mrs. S. E. Fisher, Bureau, 110 Strand, W.C. 2. £364.

TOP MODEL AGENCY needs experienced Model Bookers. £1,000. Photofit Ass't. £100. Photo-fit Ass't. £100.

MARLEY STREET DENTISTS require experienced receptionist to answer telephone and take bookings. £3,000. £4,000 depending on experience. Telephone: 380 3114.

S.R.N. REQUIRED: January, Nov., Dec. 1978. Bilingual Secretary. St. Louis Hill School, Uxbridge, Middlesex.

LEADING LIGHTING COMPANY, E.C. 1, needs attractive, responsible, up-to-date runner of about £2,600-£2,800. Apply: JOYCE GUINNESS STAFF ADVERTISING BROS. LTD.

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STEPPING STONES

Working in luxury offices for well-established companies dealing worldwide and offering excellent promotional prospects.

Young, adaptable candidate with good typing and ability to deal with international clients.

Salary c. £3,000 p.a.

SUSAN HAMILTON PERSONNEL 33 St. George's St., W.1. 406 0306 4234.

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£3,750

We are looking for a reliable, energetic and hard working PA to assist with 10 priorities. We are looking for someone with an interest in administration and personal PA work.

£3,250 plus JAYCAR CAREERS 700 3148

CALLING ALL COLLEGE LEAVERS £3,000 p.a.

Here's the opportunity you've been waiting for! Become part of a team of young, creative, enthusiastic admin staff.

Excellent opportunities for promotion. Please apply Secretary, Churchill Personnel Consultants, 10 Wilton Rd., London SW1P 2AR. Telephone: 01-582 9811, ext. 2336.

CHALLENGING Opportunity

to work in exciting world of commodities for a truly unique company. Come and join us.

Candidate should be willing to work hard, be a team player and be a real team player.

Excellent salary and benefits.

Write to Mrs. G. M. Bowden, Churchill Personnel Consultants, 10 Wilton Rd., SW1P 2AR.

SENIOR SECRETARY £3,750

Exciting position working for National Bank of India. £3,750. Excellent opportunities. Please apply Secretary, Churchill Personnel Consultants, 10 Wilton Rd., SW1P 2AR.

£3,250 plus JAYCAR CAREERS 700 3148

SECRETARY

required by

National Children's Bureau

for its Children's Centre which has facilities for a range of services and research.

Applicants must be willing to work as a member of a small team and be a good stand-by.

Salary on scale £2,925 to £3,250. Please apply to Mrs. G. M. Bowden, National Children's Bureau, 10 Wilton Rd., SW1P 2AR.

£3,250 plus JAYCAR CAREERS 700 3148

£3,250 plus JAYCAR CARE

The De La Creme

-Managerial-Administrative-Secretarial-Personal Assistants-

The British National Oil Corporation PLANNING ASSISTANT London

A unique opportunity exists for a bright energetic person, possibly a young graduate, to gain experience of general management and administration within the Oil Industry.

The job is to assist the Planning Co-ordinator of BNOC (Development) Limited, a subsidiary of the BNOC, in the day to day running of a busy office across a broad spectrum of activities embracing special managerial projects, company secretarial administration and trouble shooting. The principal duties are the organising, preparation and drafting of papers for meetings, attendance and some minute writing at meetings and the progressing of follow up action.

Applicants must be able to demonstrate the ability to think clearly, communicate effectively and be energetic, thorough and imaginative.

BNOC

EC1 Solicitors As Secretary to our Partnership Secretary

you will be kept busy helping him and the Office Manager, Staff Manageress and Accountant in the smooth running of the departments they control.

You will be aged 21 upwards, an efficient shorthand and audio typist with a lively interest in people and personnel management. This is an interesting and rewarding job for a top class secretary who is willing to take on a variety of tasks.

Ring Mrs Smith on 353 8011

THE PRESIDENT OF A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL FILM DISTRIBUTION COMPANY LOCATED IN MAYFAIR
REQUIRES A

SECRETARY

The job is demanding and requires a well groomed person who is capable of working on own initiative and has the personality and experience to cope with a variety of situations. First class shorthand and typing skills are required together with the willingness to tackle all aspects of work within the office.

Previous experience in the film industry would be advantageous and applicants should have at least five years' secretarial experience. The salary offered will reflect the importance of this appointment. Benefits include pension and private medical schemes.

Please call 499 6227 to arrange an interview.

BILINGUAL SECRETARY/PA GERMAN/ENGLISH

£3,500 p.a.

Join us in our newly appointed Belgrade office. We require a bilingual Secretary/PA, fluent in German, to join one of our engineering product divisions. This is an interesting post with the London office of a large West German engineering company and requires an experienced person with good shorthand and typing and the ability to assume some responsibility. In return we offer friendly surroundings, £3,500 per annum, L.V.s and 4 weeks' holiday.

Write or telephone The Company Secretary,
MAN-GHH (G.B.) LIMITED
4-5 Grosvenor Place, London SW1X 7DG
Telephone: 01-235 5011

SECRETARY to Managing Director

£3,800

We are a marketing company specialising in Direct Mail and our Managing Director is seeking a Secretary who will not only manage his office but also be a valuable back-up and a secretary who is willing to participate in the controlling of various campaigns.

An excellent opportunity for a person who is willing to accept a good deal of responsibility.

Free lunch vouchers, a pleasant working environment and other fringe benefits are offered.

Please write with C.V. to Angela Randall.

GROUP PLANS MARKETING LTD.
37-39 Gt. Marlborough St., W.1.

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Where do you go from here?

TO MAYFAIR and the Chairman of an international group. A foreign language can earn you a passport to the world and £4,500.

OR
TO THE FAST MOVING WORLD OF FINANCE where working for an American corporate finance expert will mean £4,500.

OR
TO KNIGHTSBRIDGE to join the marketing team of a well known American corporation. An interest in business and utilising energy will mean real involvement and £4,500.

01-629 9323

MARGERY HURST CENTRE Staff Consultants SECRETARY

£3,500 NEG.

Opportunity in International Bank in the City for ambitious secretary with good speeds, experience in foreign exchange telex, an asset. Excellent fringe benefits including 50% L.V.s per day and mortgage assistance.

44 Bow Lane, E.C.4. 01-248 0331
47 Davies Street, W.1. 01-629 8812
Open to both male and female

TOP LEVEL SECRETARIES IN TOURISM BRITISH TOURIST AUTHORITY

has vacancies for two experienced secretaries, age 23 plus, with first class secretarial skills (100 wpm shorthand, 50 wpm typing) to work at Director level. For the

DIRECTOR

STRATEGIC PLANNING

A varied job with a co-ordinating role. The Director is concerned with planning and development for international tourism based on research into tourists' requirements and the facilities available to them.

DIRECTOR

FINANCE & ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

Dealing at the topmost level with a wide range of administrative matters including Finance and Personnel. A busy position with some committee work. BTA offers 22½ days' leave, flexi-time, L.V.s, etc. The salary will be around £3,500 p.a.

Applications should be made to Rita Cornfield, BTA, 64 St. James's Street, S.W.1. Telephone: 01-623 5191, Ext. 124.

SECRETARY/PA ADVERTISING to £4,250 p.a.

We are looking for those good, traditional qualifications like efficiency and professionalism in the secretarial role. We are looking for the Managing Director of our dynamic Advertising Agency/Selection company.

His previous Secretary has been promoted and there are similar opportunities for a first class P.A. with good shorthand/typing and organisational abilities.

You'll need to be deeply involved, work under pressure and deal with clients and candidates throughout the U.K. and overseas.

Salary will be up to £4,250 p.a.

PHONE SUE GREGORY TODAY ON

01-836 1500

SECRETARY/P.A. CHELSEA

Chelsea estate agents require Secretary with bright personality for Director of Commercial Department. Interesting and varied work in friendly atmosphere.

Salary around £3,500

dependent on age and experience

Contact JACKIE ROUSE on 01-351 2383

SECRETARY/ASSISTANT

Managing Director is looking for someone to assist him in his very busy working life as an insurance broker to the travel industry.

Applicant should have a good educational background, an ability to take on responsibility, common sense and initiative, reliable shorthand and typing, a bright and well groomed personality, aged 23-28. Salary subject to negotiation.

Apply: Mrs Bowley,
Telephone 831 6771.

LONDON

AMSTERDAM

DIRECTOR (Spanish) located in West London seeks responsible P.A. with experience in marketing, advertising and finance. Although some computer experience, efficient and reliable shorthand and typing, good business experience, French, German, reasonable English, Spanish essential. £3,500-£4,000.

MULTILINGUAL SERVICES
22 CHAMBERS, CHELSEA, W.8
01-826 3764/5

OPPORTUNITY TO MEET PEOPLE

Secretary with good shorthand/typing for busy international wholesale menswear group in Bond Street, W.1. Friendly office, 5 day week. Salary circa £3,600 plus travelling allowance, etc. Apply Seymour Hoppen 493 7627/491 3125/629 1841

SENIOR SECRETARY/ ADMINISTRATOR

for Directors of small team of international shipyards in modern Mayfair offices. Internal, hard working atmosphere. Personality, self motivation and ability to provide good back-up are the key requirements. Negotiable salary and competitive conditions.

Please telephone
Miss Murray
01-491 3220

PER Top Jobs for Executive Top People Secretaries

KNIGHTSBRIDGE £4,000

A dynamic young financial Director, with influence on all aspects of the Company's Policies, requires a Secretary who can really cope and enjoy responsibility. Languages are NOT essential, but some German could make the work even more interesting. The Company is internationally famous for its luxury products and offers excellent benefits, and every consideration to its staff.

Contact: Miss Jane Barnsley 01-235 9984

VICTORIA £4,000

We seek a PA/Secretary of the highest calibre for the Chairman of a National Organization. He is a charming and distinguished man, with a wide variety of interests, who serves on several Committees and Councils. Preferably in the thirties, any candidate will naturally possess first class secretarial skills, plus the extra qualities implicit in the term P.A.

Contact: Mrs Jo Armit 01-235 9984

FRANCE £4,000

An American Manufacturing Company, based 20 miles from Paris, requires a Bi-lingual Secretary for their French Marketing Manager. The salary will be at £5,000 + Profit Sharing. Age from 20 upwards—but efficiency and the ability to work alone is essential.

Contact: Mrs Jo Armit 01-235 9984

Late night opening 6.45 pm every Thursday.

Telephone Mrs Dorothy Allison (Manager) on 01-235 9984 for an appointment at
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SECRETARY

to the Managing Director: c. £3,500

of a rapidly expanding Engineering company, part of a multinational group.

Applicants must have good shorthand and typing skills and a flair for organisation. Preference will be given to applicants with experience at senior management level who also have a knowledge of a European language.

Please write with full details or telephone for an application form:

B. L. SELICK, COMPANY SECRETARY,
AJAX MAGNETHERM (UK) LIMITED,
HOLLAND ROAD, OXTED, SURRY.
TEL. OXTED 4284.

PARTNER'S SECRETARY

A leading firm of City Solicitors near St. Paul's tube station have an immediate vacancy for a Secretary to work for the Senior Conveyancing Partner.

In return we offer excellent working conditions in a modern environment, own office, 4 weeks' holiday, L.V.s, free BUPA membership and a good salary.

Shortly we will have vacancies for Partners' Secretaries in Litigation and Company Law.

For further details please telephone

Janet Day on 01-248 5030

SECRETARY

THE LEVERHULME TRUST FUND

The Trust requires an experienced secretary to assist the Secretary of the Research Awards Advisory Committee. This Committee, under the Chairmanship of Lord Briggs, is responsible for allocating the Trust Awards of individual fellowships and studentships and has an annual budget of around £200,000 p.a.

The NRDC is a public corporation concerned with promoting the development and exploitation of inventions. It is active in almost every field of technology.

Attractive modern office (shared with assistant).

Location: close to Victoria Station. Flexible working hours: 3 weeks' and 3 days' holiday.

Write or phone for an appointment to:

Mrs. C. Handley, Personnel Assistant, National Research Development Corporation, King's Cross, London NW1 6SL. Tel: 01-328 3400.

£4,000 PLUS VARIETY

FRENCH/GERMAN MARKETING

A Secretary/Administrator (English mother tongue preferred) is needed to assist in the marketing of computerized packages to Europe. Age 21+.

AMERICAN BANK

An Administrative Assistant with secretarial skills is needed to work with the Company Secretary of this dramatically successful and expanding organization in the City. Age 21-30.

PERSONNEL TRAINEE OFFICER

A sound knowledge of Industrial Relations, Employee Legislation and general personnel administration are necessary entry qualifications for this City based job. Own typing. Two months hand over period. Age 25-35. Salary reviewed substantially on full assumption of responsibilities.

ANGELA MORTIMER LTD

(Recruitment Consultants)

166 Piccadilly 493 5378



SECRETARY £4,000 NEG

A rewarding opportunity with great potential. London offices of Californian Company dealing with corporate law. An experienced secretary for American partner. Legal experience not essential. Good appearance and personality important.

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Open to both Male and Female

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Managerial-Administrative-Secretarial-Personal Assistants

PROOF READER

We are a large international firm of chartered accountants with pleasant modern offices close to St Paul's.

We have a vacancy in our Casting Over Department for a person with the ability and aptitude to work as part of a small team involved with proof reading documents and reports to be sent to clients.

The position is an important one, and demands a high degree of patience, accuracy and consistency. No English language is required. We offer an excellent starting salary and all the other benefits which you would expect from a large professional firm.

If you are aged between 25 and 45 and would like further details of this position, please contact Jean Oliver.

COOPERS & LYBRAND

Abacus House, Gutter Lane, London EC2V 5AH.

Telephone: 01-606 4040.

C&L

Secretary/Administrative Assistant

Required for Small Secretariat of successful and developing International Educational Project. Basic requirements are first class secretarial skills, book-keeping experience and executive ability. The successful applicant will be responsible for all financial aspects of the work of the Secretariat, and in addition will be charged with administering the office, arranging and minuting meetings (this may involve overseas travel), and miscellaneous administrative tasks demanding common sense and versatility.

Salary negotiable, but minimum of £3,500.

For further details please apply to:

MISS NINA LITTLE,
UNITED WORLD COLLEGES,
LONDON HOUSE,
MECKLENBURG SQUARE,
LONDON WC1N 3AS
TELEPHONE 01-580 5451

Personal Secretary

Heidelberg

Director-General (British) of International Laboratory in Heidelberg requires personal secretary with initiative and ability to organize own work. Start in the New Year. Working knowledge of German essential. Previous academic, scientific, or publishing experience, or similar, would be appropriate.

Basic salary from 2,300-2,550 Dm. per month, tax free, according to age and experience, plus allowances.

Interviews to be held in Cambridge, early November. Application form on request from Ms G. Harris, 7 All Saints Passage, Cambridge, CB2 3LS, or Telephone mornings only Cambridge (0223) 60218.

PERSONAL/ADMIN ASSISTANT

£4,000

A young man or woman, preferably with some experience in the office, is required to join a small, friendly, expanding company. The company needs a well-organized PA system, and the successful applicant will be responsible for all aspects of the office, including the preparation of reports, supervision of secretarial staff, and general office work.

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CAREER PLAN

(Consultant)

17 All Saints, W.1.

01-523 3377.

PARIS

Busy part of international firm needs experienced bilingual secretary to organize all its correspondence. It is a highly confidential and confidential work. Friendly atmosphere and lots of client contact.

Director's Secretary, 01-422 6222.

JAYGAR CAREERS

730 5148

JAYGAR

MEET THE VIPS

£3,700

Young man in this busy firm needs to develop his skills and tools of diplomacy, will be required to organize all correspondence, as well as other office work. Good communication, work friendly atmosphere and lots of client contact.

Director's Secretary, 01-422 6222.

SENIOR SECRETARY

£3,500

Property Company moves to new Mayfair offices requires experienced, varied and interesting work. 10-12 hours.

Please Telephone Jennie Thomas 01-634 6301.

SALARIES

CLERK

£3,500

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KNIGHTSBRIDGE

£3,750 to start

Dynamic young Group Controller needs a highly organized and confidential PA who would be very rewarding for someone with short-term interest.

Director's Secretary, 01-422 6222.

PERSONNEL SECRETARY

£3,500

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PERSONNEL OFFICER

£3,500

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SITUATION D'AVENIR

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To place an advertisement in any of these categories, tel:

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See No. 26, régular should be

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The Times,

New Printing House Square,

London EC4P 4EE

Deadline for cancellations and

advertisements (not prompt)

is 12.00 midday prior to the

Monday issue, the deadline is 12.00

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Sub Number will be issued to

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Shop Number must be quoted.

PLEASE CHECK YOUR AD.

We make every

effort to avoid errors in

advertisements. Each

one is carefully checked

and proof read. When

thousands of advertise-

ments are handled each

day mistakes do occur

and we ask therefore

that you check your ad

and, if you spot an

error, report it to the

Classified Querries

department immediately

by telephoning 01-837

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We regret that we cannot be

responsible for more

than one day's incorrect

insertion if you do not

see the error in me.

It is a good idea to

check your ad before

posting it.

THE TIMES

14.00 a.m. 10.00 a.m.

11.00 a.m. 12.00 a.m.

1.00 p.m. 2.00 p.m.

2.00 p.m. 3.00 p.m.

3.00 p.m. 4.00 p.m.

4.00 p.m. 5.00 p.m.

5.00 p.m. 6.00 p.m.

6.00 p.m. 7.00 p.m.

7.00 p.m. 8.00 p.m.

8.00 p.m. 9.00 p.m.

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